The Story of the Churches

The Methodists

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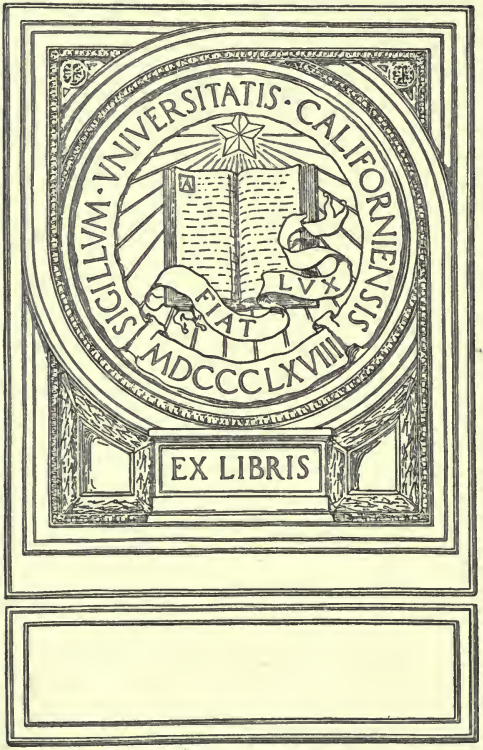
John Alfred Faulkner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THE METHODISTS

The Story of the Churches

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By JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, D.D.

Professor of Historical Theology, Drew Theological Seminary

Published in the Spring, 1903

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The Story of the Churches

The Methodists

By
JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, D. D.
Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary.

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The aim of this series is to furnish a uniform set of church histories, brief but complete, and designed to instruct the average church member in the origin, development, and history of the various denominations. Many church histories have been issued for all denominations, but they have usually been volumes of such size as to discourage any but students of church history. Each volume of this series, all of which will be written by leading historians of the various denominations, will not only interest the members of the denomination about which it is written, but will prove interesting to members of other denominations as well who wish to learn something of their fellow workers. The volumes will be bound uniformly, and when the series is complete will make a most valuable history of the Christian church.

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The Methodists

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF METHODISM

THE Methodist movement was the providential response to the moral and spiritual destitution of England. How far this destitution extended may be seen by reading any reliable history of the times like Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," or Green's "History of the English People." Even an extreme Tory writer like Mr. Francis Hitchman, who writes in a spirit of violent hostility, has to acknowledge that when Wesley began his work the "Church of England had sunk into a torpor from which it was necessary that it should be aroused." Owing to the nature of the

Church of England as a compromise between the Church of Rome and Protestantism, owing to the convulsions of her history—partially reformed by Henry VIII, moderately Protestantized by Edward VI, Catholicized again by Mary, restored to a middle position by Elizabeth, Catholicized (this time without being Romanized) by Charles I, abolished by the Commonwealth, brought back to the Elizabethan condition by Charles II, touched up again in the Catholic direction by James II and Anne amid fierce protests and commotions —is it any wonder that when Wesley came to the scene enthusiasm in religion was regarded as the deadliest sin, and that when John and Charles Wesley and their companions in Oxford really tried to live according to Christ—in Bible study, in holiness of life, in works of mercy, they were looked upon as almost insane and ridiculed "Bible Methodists," "The Holy Club," "Methodists"? The clergy were too often

either worldly and fox-hunting, or immoral and licentious, and sometimes led or incited mobs against the preachers and their adherents. This latter fact is a sufficient index of the age.

Wesley (1703–91) had in his veins the best blood of England. Whatever heredity could do to make a saint and a religious genius, combined with coolness and sanity of judgment, that had been done for him. On both sides of the house he was descended from clergymen of remarkable piety and independence. His grandfather and great-grandfather were Puritan ministers of university training, and were bitterly persecuted by the Church of England and Charles II. His father had changed his Nonconformist views, suddenly determined to go to Oxford, walked thither, entered himself as a servitor and poor scholar at Exeter College, graduated in 1688, became rector at South Ormesby (1691–6) and at Epworth (1696 till his death in 1735), wrote

numerous books, and lived a laborious, conscientious, pious and self-denying life. When he heard that his sons were bearing the gauntlet of criticism and ridicule for their pious labors in Oxford he wrote December 1, 1730: "I hear that my son John has the honor of being styled the 'father of the Holy Club.' If it be so, I must be the grandfather of it, and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished than to have the title of His Holiness." He married Susanna, daughter of the eminent Nonconformist Rev. Dr. Samuel Annesley, and one of the most remarkable women of modern times, deserving to rank with Monica, Anthusa and Nonna. She was great as a saint, administrator, and educator, and, to her vision, judgment and tact the world owes a vast debt. While studying in Oxford (1720–7) Wesley became the leader of a band of earnest young men who were devoted to Bible study, prison visitation and the works

of charity. He was profoundly impressed by reading the "Imitation of Christ" and Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," and entered upon that life of strenuous self-denial and beneficence in obedience to a lofty ideal which he led ever after.

On his voyage to America to be a missionary to Oglethorpe's new colony of Georgia he fell in with some Moravians bent on a similar errand, and the birth of Methodism is really due to that voyage. In the face of storms threatening to engulf their little ship the Moravians were perfectly calm, and their peace of mind, Wesley found, came from their simple faith in Christ, and their assurance that Christ had saved them. Wesley noted this but did not act on it himself. When in Georgia (1736–8) he tried to govern his life and his ministry by High Church principles, he found increasing embarrassment and failure. This and an unfortunate personal controversy led him to abandon

his field and return to England. He now sought the Moravians, and it was in a religious society at Aldersgate Street, London, May 29, 1738, while hearing Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, in which the Reformer explained the way of salvation by faith, that—to use Wesley's oft quoted words—"I felt my heart strangely warmed, I felt I did trust in Christ, in Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." This experience made Methodism.

His brother Charles as well as Whitefield had experienced a similar uplift, and were proclaiming the way of salvation by faith, —Whitefield soon to vast thousands out of doors, as the Church of England had closed her churches to the zealous preachers. On account of some errors, as he considered them, Wesley separated from the Moravians. He himself describes the origin of the

Methodist societies. "In the latter end of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did two or three more the next day) that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work I appointed a day when they might all come together, which from thenceforth they did every week, namely on Thursday in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them (for their number increased daily) I gave those advices from time to time which I judged most needful for them; and we always concluded our meeting with prayer suited to their several necessities. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, and then in other places."

This spontaneity in the rise of the Method-

ist societies was characteristic of the whole movement. There was no, Go to, let us form a new Church. In the joy of their new found peace and faith Wesley and his companions went forth to preach. Their message came with power, because it came from hearts full of the Holy Spirit and from lips that had been touched with a live coal from off God's altar. The unwonted freedom and force of the proclamation of a full, free, and present salvation through faith in Christ soon excluded them from the churches. Much blame has been attached to the Church of England both by her own writers and by others for not utilizing the zeal of Wesley and Whitefield as Rome utilized St. Francis of Assisi, of whom one of the most interesting writers of this age, Augustus Jessopp, speaks in these words: "St. Francis was the John Wesley of the thirteenth century whom the Church did not cast out." I think there is some unfairness in this comparison and

reflection. Certainly the coarseness and calumny of writers like Bishops Warburton and Lavington and Smallbroke is inexcusable, as well as the active opposition of some of the clergy as mob leaders, but it must be remembered that Wesley was the most undutiful son that the Church ever had, both in his work and in his teaching. Whereas he took a vow at ordination to preach only in those parishes where "thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto," he invaded every parish in England and Ireland; and although for some of his doctrines it is possible to find sanction in Anglican writers, it is evident that the whole Church system founded on regeneration in baptism and grace given in confirmation mediated by bishops, was cut up by the roots by the Methodist gospel that all men out of Christ are lost sinners, that salvation can be had instantly by faith, and that it can be infallibly attested in the soul by the witness of the Spirit. The Church, the clergy, the

sacraments and confirmation were logically cast aside by the Methodist preachers—in the Methodist system they were relatively unimportant, in the Catholic system, Roman and Anglican, they are all important. For these reasons I believe the judgment of William Arthur is entirely justified when he said that the bishops showed Wesley great indulgence or he would have been forbidden in every diocese in the country.

As Wesley moved from place to place it was necessary to leave some one to take care of the converts. Thus arose lay preaching, which has been the most characteristic mark of Methodism and in the opinion of some her chief glory. Men in the zeal of their new life could not help testify of the grace of God, and the class meeting both tested and trained public speakers. The wisest and most competent of them would naturally be thrust forward for work in the absence of the regular ministers, and Wesley never showed a finer

sagacity than in heeding his mother's warning not to discourage men of this stamp, but rather to utilize them. They were the men who husbanded Wesley's societies, extended the gospel with tireless zeal all over the kingdom, and furnished preachers like John Nelson and Thomas Walsh who are among the most heroic and saintly figures in the history of the Church. It is chiefly to the lay preachers that we owe the triumphs of the Methodist movement, and it was therefore with special fitness that the memorial tablet to Wesley in City Road chapel, London, should bear the inscription: "He was the patron and friend of the lay preachers by whose aid he extended the plan of itinerate preaching," —an inscription that was changed in the heyday of Bunting's rule by some meddlers into: "He was the chief promoter and patron of the plan of itinerant preaching."

Events now moved with rapidity, and nearly all of them were the earnest of a

new Church or denomination. Take this portentous list: In 1740 Wesley takes a position against unconditional election and so allies his movement with Arminianism; in the same year he separates from the Moravians; in 1742 a financial system was adopted for the payment of debts on church buildings and for other expenses, and tickets for membership were first given out; in 1743 the rules for the United Societies were published, and visitors were appointed for the sick and poor; in 1744 the first Conference for preachers was held, in which both the doctrines and discipline of the Methodists were outlined in substantially the same form as they are received to-day; in 1745 at the second Conference Wesley cut himself off from obedience to the Church of England, except to the rubrics in the Prayer-book, and outlined a kind of episcopal Congregationalism as the natural evolution of church polity; in 1746 the first rules for the reception of

preachers—still in force—are laid down, and the kingdom is divided into circuits by name; at the Conference of 1747 Wesley discusses Church polity again and concludes that a New Testament Church means a single congregation, that the three orders of bishops, priests and deacons are apostolic but not laid down as obligatory in Scripture, that in fact no plan of Church government is thus laid down, and finally that the divine right of episcopacy was never heard of in England till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, until which time "all bishops, and clergy continually allowed and joined in the ministrations of those who were not episcopally ordained;" in 1747 he begins a Tract Society; in 1748 a school; in 1752 the preachers receive a salary; in 1756 the first general collection for a specific purpose is taken in all the societies; in 1763 a fund for worn out preachers is inaugurated, and in 1765 a *uniform* ticket of membership issued to all

members who are henceforth, it is recommended, to be called—after the fashion of the primitive church—brothers and sisters.

Certainly by this time, the Methodists might be looked upon as forming a distinct denomination. Later steps confirm what had already been done. Ministers were sent to America in 1769, the *Arminian Magazine* was started in 1778 (issued each month from that day to this, though with change of name to *Methodist Magazine* in 1798 and to *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* in 1822), and in 1784—an epochal year—Wesley formally made provision for the perpetuation of Methodism as a distinct movement by enrolling in the Court of Chancery a Deed of Declaration constituting the Methodist Conference, with rules and regulations, as his successor. The same year saw him ordain Coke as Superintendent and Whatcoat and Vasey elders for the American Methodists, with instructions to organize a Church. These ordinations

were not confined to America, for in the next five years he repeatedly ordained men as elders to act in Scotland, England and in mission stations,—even went so far as to ordain Mather to act as superintendent in England, and in 1789 ordained Moore and Rankin to have special charge of the societies in London, Bath, and Bristol, and to administer the sacraments. These acts may be taken as completing the breach with the Church of England, which Wesley began in 1739. When he died in 1791 there were in Great Britain and Ireland 300 preachers in regular charge, 1,000 local preachers, and 80,000 members.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF METHODISM

METHODISM began in the religious experience of Wesley at Aldersgate Street, when a Moravian by a writing of Luther showed him the simple way of salvation by faith. Wesley always emphasized the experimental, therefore, rather than the dogmatic. It began not as a proclamation of doctrine, old or new, but as the proclamation of a new life. It was a revival of religion, not a system of theology. It was the old message that broke the silence of the Jordan valley: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Wesley loved to emphasize the practical side of Methodism, and he announced as its mission not the promulgation of new theories of polity or theology, but the

"spreading of scriptural holiness over these lands," and by these lands he really meant all lands, for with daring vision and faith at the beginning he said in answer to some who complained of his irregular movements, "The world is my parish." In his famous definition of a Methodist he deliberately omits all doctrinal elements except belief in the Trinity.

"A Methodist is one that has the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him; one who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and soul, and mind, and strength. He rejoices evermore, prays without ceasing, and in everything gives thanks. His heart is full of love to all mankind, and is purified from envy, malice, wrath, and every unkind affection. His one desire, and the one design of his life, is not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him. He keeps all God's commandments, from the least to the greatest. He follows not the

customs of the world; for vice does not lose its nature through its becoming fashionable. He fares not sumptuously every day. He cannot lay up treasures upon the earth; nor can he adorn himself with gold or costly apparel. He cannot join in any diversion that has the least tendency to vice. He cannot speak evil of his neighbor any more than he can lie. He cannot utter unkind or evil words. No corrupt communication ever comes out of his mouth. He does good unto all men; unto neighbors, strangers, friends, and enemies. These are the principles and practices of our sect. These are the marks of a true Methodist. By these alone do Methodists desire to be distinguished from other men."

Hence Wesley took special pride in the fact that no doctrinal tests were laid down for membership in his society. He calls attention to this repeatedly.

"One circumstance more," he says, "is quite peculiar to the people called Method-

ists,—that is, the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees; let them be Churchmen or Dissenters, Presbyterians or Independents—it is no obstacle. Let them choose one mode of baptism or another—it is no bar to their admission. The Presbyterian may be a Presbyterian still; the Independent or Anabaptist may use his own mode of worship; so may the Quaker, and none will contend with him about it. They think, and let think. One condition, and one only, is required—a real desire to save the soul. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only, 'Is thy heart herein as my heart? If it be give me thy hand.' Is there any other society in Great Britain or Ireland that is so remote from bigotry? that is so truly of a catholic spirit? so ready

to admit all serious persons without distinction? Where, then, is there such another society in Europe? in the habitable world? I know none. Let any man show it me that can."

At a later date as if for fear that some would bring in dogmatic tests Wesley exclaims: "O that we may never make anything more or less the term of union with us, but having the mind that was in Christ, and the walking as he walked."

It is fair to say, however, that this noble ideal was not observed in the actual evolution of Methodism. And for this Wesley himself was responsible. He early separated himself from the Moravians, and as early (1740) precipitated a conflict with the Calvinists by his unfortunate sermon on Predestination, a conflict that deepened into furious opposition by his Minute on Justification, in 1770. This declaration led many of the most pious and active leaders in the movement to conclude that Wesley by a

reaction towards his early High Church ideas had repudiated justification by faith alone. This interpretation was not an unnatural one, and the Minute left an irretrievable cleavage among Methodists.

No great reformation like the Methodist, however, can proceed without a firm substratum of truth, and though Wesley was sincere in calling all who desired salvation into his societies irrespective of creed, he did not hesitate to proclaim far and wide the doctrines which he held. He was the great doctrinal preacher of the eighteenth century. At his very first conference he debated theological topics with his preachers, and year by year he renewed the discussions with the distinct understanding that every man must be perfectly free to speak his mind and is bound by the decision of the Conference (which meant Wesley) no farther than his conscience dictates. Nor does it appear that Wesley insisted upon his helpers sharing his views, if they

were peaceable men and held to the main things. But the doctrines that were the spring of the revival soon came into relief. After Wesley's death the Conference formally adopted the first fifty-two sermons in Wesley's published volumes and his "Notes on the New Testament" as their standard of orthodoxy, though when he sent over his service for the new American Church Wesley said nothing of any writings of his own, but pared down the thirty-nine articles of his mother Church into twenty-four as a sufficient doctrinal basis.

What then are the things most surely believed among the Methodists? I think no one has expressed more admirably these common beliefs than Bishop John H. Vincent. His brief series of ten propositions is not known as widely outside—or even inside—of Methodist circles as it ought to be.

I. I believe that all men are sinners.

II. I believe that God the Father loves all men and hates all sin.

III. I believe that Jesus Christ died for all men to make possible their salvation from sin, and to make sure the salvation of all who believe in him.

IV. I believe that the Holy Spirit is given to all men to enlighten and to incline them to repent of their sins and to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.

V. I believe that all who repent of their sins and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ receive the forgiveness of sins. This is justification.

VI. I believe that all who receive the forgiveness of sins are at the same time made new creatures in Christ Jesus. This is regeneration.

VII. I believe that all who are made new creatures in Christ Jesus are accepted as children of God. This is adoption.

VIII. I believe that all who are accepted as the children of God may receive the inward assurance of the Holy Spirit to that fact. This is the witness of the Spirit.

IX. I believe that all who truly desire and seek it may love God with all the heart, soul, mind and strength, and their neighbors as themselves. This is entire sanctification.

X. I believe that all who persevere to the end and only these shall be saved in heaven forever.

Equally fundamental are such doctrines as the Divinity of Christ, the inspiration of Scripture and its sole authority as a rule of faith and practice, the obligation of the two sacraments, the second coming of Christ, and eternal punishment of unrepented sin. It will be seen, therefore, that Methodism has quite as definite a creed as other Churches which confess their faith in formal symbols. To that faith she has clung with tenacity and with an undeviating fidelity not paralleled in church history. Though numerous offshoots have gone from the parent stock, in no case has a division arisen on account of a change in doctrine.

It is the opinion of all Methodists that the marvellous growth of the movement has been due in large measure to the clearness and earnestness with which preachers have proclaimed the universal peril of sinners, and the free, present and full salvation provided in Jesus Christ, together with the joy, buoyancy and triumph the experience of that salvation has given to both preachers and members. On non-essential matters Methodists allow large latitude as, *e. g.*, the mode of baptism, the mode of administering the Lord's Supper, theories of inspiration so long as the unique fact is maintained, the date of the Old Testament books and other matters of Biblical investigation so long as the actual objective revelation of God is insisted upon. But it is evident as soon as the doctrines which have given Methodism her reason for being such as those mentioned above are shelved, her triumphs are at an end. The historic note of Methodist preaching is its precision and

positiveness, the tremendous force with which it assails the conscience of men by the weapons of the Word.

As to its moral testimony it will be seen by the above definition of a Methodist that the ethical standards of the movement were high. It took at its full value Paul's great challenge to the Christians in Corinth: "We are a temple of the living God: even as God said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore

"Come ye out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord,

"And touch no unclean thing;

"And I will receive you,

"And I will be to you a Father,

"And ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord almighty. Having therefore these promises, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God" (2 Cor. 6: 16; 7:1).

The Rules of the United Societies were the loftiest ethical standard ever laid down by uninspired man as the regulation of a Christian's workaday life, not as an ideal or exhortation, but as actually to be lived out by every individual. They were after St. Francis's own heart. Wesley combined the ascetic religiousness of the mediæval saint with the cool judgment of a man of the world and the large sympathies of a man of letters. But never before except in apostolic times was it seen that all who professed the name of Christ were to live after a rule so stern, so strict, so uncompromising, though the Anabaptists of the Reformation times and the Quakers of the seventeenth century were in this respect the forerunners of the Methodists, to whom, however, Wesley owed nothing. The General Rules forbade not only the ordinary vices of Sabbath-breaking, drinking, etc., but also brother going to law with a brother Christian, usury, the using many

words in buying and selling, speaking evil of magistrates or ministers, the putting on of gold and costly apparel, or reading books or using diversions which tend not to the knowledge and love of God. But Wesley was not content with a general moral strictness. On specific evils he warned both people and preachers. His voice rang out: "Let no preacher touch snuff on any account but show the societies the evil of it." "Let no preacher drink any drams on any account, but strongly dissuade our people from it, and answer their pretenses." "Enforce the rules relating to ruffles, lace, snuff and tobacco rigorously, though calmly." "Warn them against little oaths, 'as upon my life,' 'my faith,' and against compliments, let them use no unmeaning words." The monastic strictness of the great disciplinarian impressed itself upon his followers of all classes and grades of society only because they had themselves been renewed in heart and life, and could joyfully take of

the spoiling of their pleasures for Christ's sake. Besides the times were evil, and severe remedies, Wesley thought, were called for.

It remains to speak of two other characteristics of Methodism,—singing and testimony. The early Methodists were a happy folk, and Charles Wesley, the poet hymnist of the centuries, was raised up to voice their joys, their longings, their faith and their love. Then Wesley unloosed the tongues of the dumb,—"how can we help but speak of the things which we have seen and heard." The class-meeting, where Christians speak to each other of the things of God, trained multitudes for effective service,—even women not a few became known for their rich experience, lofty faith and appropriate public utterance. The portrait of Dinah Morris in "Adam Bede" is typical of many. As the mediæval abbots utilized laymen for large service so Wesley restored the private Christian to the place

he had in the first age of the church, when the believers went everywhere preaching the Gospel (Acts 8: 4). After Wesley, laymen were the founders of Methodism. It was their preaching, their sufferings, their heroism, which turned the tide of immorality and irreligion, and, as Lecky well says, saved England from a French Revolution.

CHAPTER III

THE PLANTING IN AMERICA

"THUS the whirligig of time brings on his revenges," says the clown in "Twelfth Night." When that most Catholic King Louis XIV overrun the province of the Palatinate on the Rhine and scattered the inhabitants, he little thought that those weak and despised Protestants, who with heavy hearts left their smoking homes for the north, would be the instruments of starting a movement that would checkmate his own church over vast spaces of the world, build church and college over against hers, and bring thousands of his co-religionists by the mere attractiveness of a happy religious experience into the purity and power of a Gospel of which he neither

knew nor cared nor could imagine. The Palatines found their way to England 1690-1705, and from England many of them went to Ireland, where they were given land in County Limerick. Without pastors who could speak their language, they neglected religion and became addicted to the ordinary vices of the time. Still they never lost their German virtues of frugality and diligence, readily received the Methodist itinerant, and when Wesley first visited them in 1756, he found, he says, "much life among this plain, artless, serious people," and greatly enjoyed preaching to them. Wesley's keen eye noted a contrast —"they have quite a different look from the natives of the country, as well as a different temper. They are a serious, thinking people. And their diligence turns all their land into a garden." In spite of all their diligence some of them could not make a living, so that on June 14, 1765, Wesley records their departure for different

parts of the kingdom, and to America, and exclaims, "Have landlords no common sense (whether they have common humanity or no), that they will suffer such tenants as these to be starved away from them?"

In 1760 a part of the Palatine Irish left the village of Balligarane for America, arriving in New York August 10, 1760. Among them were Barbara Heck, the mother of Methodism in the United States and Canada, and Philip Embury, the first class-leader and preacher in the new world. Not all were Methodists, and those that were—except Barbara and Embury—lost their zeal. The oft-repeated story how Barbara started the first Methodist preaching is too good not to be told again. The patient and invaluable researches of the late John Atkinson corroborate it in every particular. It appears that a company of people had met in the evening to play cards, probably in Barbara Heck's own kitchen. Coming

upon them suddenly, Barbara, in her indignation, swept the cards into her apron, threw them into the fire and rebuked the players, then put on her bonnet, went immediately to the house of Embury, and exclaimed: "Philip, you must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell together, and God will require our blood at your hands!" "Where shall I preach?" said Philip. "Preach in your own house." "Who will come to hear me?" "I will come and hear you," urged the enthusiastic matron. She went and gathered three or four people and Embury preached to them, and thus began the Methodist movement in America. This was in 1766. In 1770 the foundress and her family, with others, moved to Camden (Ashgrove), near Lake Champlain, N. Y., where they founded a society, in 1774 to Montreal, and in 1785 to Augusta, Ontario, where they also established a Methodist class, where they greeted the first itinerants in Canada with an already established cause,

and where their descendants are living to this day.

It is worth recording that the first regular preaching place in America was a hired room near the barracks (later Augustus Street), with the customary drinking-shops and other vile resorts. "Few thought it worth while to assemble with them in so contemptible a place" is the sad remark of our first historian, Jesse Lee. But in that room the Gospel won its trophies, and many, both civilians and soldiers, were added to the Lord. This was especially true after Captain Webb, the stirring soldier-preacher, arrived among them in 1766 or 1767. Their quarters became too small so that they soon (probably early in 1767) hired a sail-loft on William Street. But this too became too strait for them, so that it was necessary to build a church. A fine site was offered on what is now John Street, where the present church stands, for £600, apparently an exorbitant price for that time.

Influentual and wealthy friends were raised up, a subscription paper was started, William Lupton a public-spirited merchant, gave £30 and borrowed more on his own security, besides himself lending £190. Captain Webb headed the list with £30, and many of the citizens of New York, including clergymen of the Church of England, doctors, lawyers, and other prominent people, gave heartily to the new house, and their names can be read to-day in the subscription paper which is preserved in the archives of the New York Methodist Historical Society. Opposition was not lacking, however, as an old account says: "The fire of opposition raged tremendously against the rising edifice. Its enemies loudly predicted its downfall. Pamphlets were published and discourses delivered in order to frustrate its completion."

The Church of England was established by law in New York, though dissenters were allowed to worship in a building that was

not a church. The Methodists therefore built a fireplace in their chapel, which classed it as a dwelling. It had a gallery, but no breastwork and no stairs; boys would mount by a ladder and sit on the exposed platform. Benches without backs were the pews. The pulpit was made by Embury himself, who followed the trade of Jesus. The church was opened by Embury, October 30, 1768. In size it was 42x60.

Webb founded Methodism in Philadelphia in 1767 or 1768. One of the interesting facts of Church History is the intercourse of Wesley with Dr. Wrangel a Swedish minister from Philadelphia, whom he met in Bristol on his way home. Under date of October 14, 1768, Wesley says in his journal: "I dined with Dr. Wrangel, one of the kings of Sweden's chaplains, who has spent some time in Philadelphia. His heart seems to be greatly united to the American Christians; he strongly pleaded for our

sending some of our preachers to help them, multitudes of whom are as sheep without a shepherd. *Tuesday*, 18. He preached in the new room to a crowded audience, and gave general satisfaction by the simplicity and life which accompanied his sound doctrine." Wrangel wrote to some friends in Philadelphia commending Wesley and his cause, and urging them to unite with the Methodists. Two of the friends—Hood and Wilmer—were the first Methodists in Philadelphia. Hood became a local preacher and founded many societies in and around Philadelphia. The first church in that city was bought in 1769 for £650 from the German Reformed, who had begun to build but were not able to finish and therefore, according to the tender laws of that day, found themselves in jail. Their acquaintance, says an old chronicler, inquired of them as they looked through the windows, For what were you put in jail? They answered, For building a

church. To go to jail for the pious deed of building a church became a proverb in the city of Brotherly Love. This is St. George's Church, Fourth Street, the oldest Methodist church now standing and used for worship in the world. It was opened Friday, November 24, 1769, all days being lucky to the early Methodists, who, according to Wesley, were as free from superstition as from heresy.

There has been a dispute as to who first established Methodism in America, Embury in New York, or Strawbridge in Maryland, some historians like Lednum, Hamilton, and McTyeire, stating definitely that Strawbridge has the precedence. This question has been set at rest by the invaluable researches of Atkinson, whose conclusion is endorsed by Buckley. Like Embury, Strawbridge was an Irishman, a local preacher in his native isle, who came over in 1765, or according to Crook, who made a careful study of all the Irish line of evi-

dence, in 1766, began preaching in Baltimore County and surrounding country in 1767, raised societies, converted Richard Owen, the first native preacher in Maryland, as well as the parents of that ecclesiastical Nestor, Thomas E. Bond, M. D., and built perhaps the second Methodist church on the continent—the celebrated log church at Sam's Creek, Carroll County, Maryland. This church was twenty feet square and built of hewn logs, with sleepers for seats, was without windows or doors (except openings in the wall), but witnessed many triumphs of the Gospel by that brave and consecrated Irishman, the apostle of Maryland, who would not bend his neck to Asbury's yoke.

Another Irish pioneer deserves mention—Robert Williams. He had been a member of the Irish Conference and was the first who came over to assist the American Methodists, though without appointment by Wesley. He landed in Norfolk, Va.,

probably in the summer of 1769. With his Bible and hymn-book in his hand he left the vessel and walked up the main street. It was evening. Seeing a house marked, "To let," he ascended its steps, took his hymn-book and began to sing. The people gathered around. After singing he offered a fervent prayer for the town. On rising from his knees he told the people who he was, the object of his mission, etc., and asked if any one would be kind enough to give him a night's lodging. A lady came forward and offered to take him home in her carriage. She was the wife of a sea-captain who was absent on a voyage. Before retiring he asked permission to pray. During that prayer his entertainer found the peace of Christ, but the singular fact is that that same prayer in which the husband was earnestly remembered brought about his conversion on that very night. The captain could not sleep. He arose alarmed, only to lie down to seek rest in vain.

Again he arose. Finally he fell on his knees and began to pray. God converted his soul. He noted this in his log-book, and found it was the same night that Williams was praying for him. Williams was a zealous worker, planting the Gospel in Virginia, and going wherever he was sent with cheerful faith. In the library of Drew Theological Seminary there is preserved the earliest membership ticket extant.

Psalms 147: 11. October 1, 1769.

"The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him; in those that hope in his mercy."

HANNAH DEAN.

ROBT. WILLIAMS, N. York. 75.

It is supposed that seventy-five represents the number of members then in the society.

Hitherto there had been no formal appointment by Wesley of preachers to America. Webb had importuned him to send over helpers, and Thomas Taylor from New York in his notable appeal, dated April 11, 1768, seconded the entreaty, "I must importune

for assistance not alone in my behalf, but also in the name of the whole society. We want an able and experienced preacher ; one who has both gifts and grace necessary for the work. God has not indeed despised the day of small things. There is a real work of grace begun in many hearts by the preaching of Mr. Webb and Mr. Embury. But although they are both useful and their hearts are in the work, they want many qualifications for such an undertaking, and the progress of the Gospel here depends much upon the qualifications of the preachers. If possible we must have a man of wisdom, of sound faith, and a good disciplinarian—one whose heart and soul are in the work; and I doubt not by the goodness of God such a flame could be kindled as would never stop until it reached the great South Sea. Dear sir, I entreat you, for the good of thousands, to use your utmost endeavors to send one over. With respect to money for payment of the preacher's pas-

sage, if they could not procure it we would sell our coats and shirts to procure it for them. I most earnestly beg an interest in your prayers, and trust you and many of your brethren will not forget the Church in this wilderness."

This appeal was laid before the Conference in 1768, but laid over for full consideration until the next year. At Leeds in 1769 Wesley asked who was ready to volunteer for America, and Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman—experienced and able men, —both of whom had been considering the Appeal of 1768, volunteered for the new mission field in the West, while the father of foreign missions, William Carey, was but a boy of eight. The Minutes of 1769 contain this characteristic entry:

Question 13. We have a pressing call from our brethren at New York—(who have built a preaching-house) to come over and help them. Who is willing to go? Answer: Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor.

Question 14. What can we do further in token of our brotherly love? Answer: Let us now make a collection among ourselves. This was immediately done and £50 were allotted towards the payment of debt, and about £20 given to our brethren for their passage.

Certainly this spectacle of a handful of poor preachers—there were now about a hundred men on the roll, not all of whom were at the Conference—with their paltry income giving £70 or even half of it to the American mission is one of the most pathetic in history.

The missionaries landed on October 20, 1769, and immediately began their work. "When I came to Philadelphia," writes Boardman to Wesley, November 4, 1769, "I found a little society and preached to a great number. I left Brother Pilmoor there and set out for New York. Coming to a large town on my way, and seeing a barrack I asked a soldier if there were any Methodists

belonging to it. 'O yes,' said he, 'we are all Methodists, that is, we should all be glad to hear a Methodist preach.' 'Well,' said I, 'tell them in the barrack that a Methodist preacher, just come from England, intends to preach here to-night.' He did so and the inn was soon surrounded with soldiers. I asked, 'where do you think I can get a place to preach in?' (It then being dark). One of them said, 'I will go and see if I can get the Presbyterian meeting-house.' He did so and soon returned and told me that he had prevailed, and that the bell was just going to ring to let all the town know. A great company soon got together and seemed much affected. The next day I came to New York." This readiness to enter every open door, and to try to open one if it were shut, was characteristic of early Methodist preachers, and was one cause of their success.

An agreement was immediately drawn up that there should be preaching Sunday morn-

ings and evenings, also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, that the preacher should meet the society every Wednesday evening, and that each preacher having labored three months should receive three guineas for clothes. Such were the modest beginnings of the concerted effort of the British Methodists to extend the cause in America.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST CONFERENCES

After 1769 other preachers were sent over by Wesley; of the lives of these and others I shall have something to say in a subsequent chapter. Under their labors the work rapidly spread and consolidated. But to coordinate it with Wesley and his system, the great disciplinarians Asbury and Rankin believed it was necessary to bring the preachers together for common action. They met therefore for their first Conference in Philadelphia on July 14–16, 1773, viz., Rankin, Boardman, Pilmoor, Asbury, Wright, Shadford, Webb, King, Whitworth and Yearby,—all travelling preachers, but all unordained. The reports of membership were as follows: New York 180, Philadelphia 180, New Jersey 200,

Maryland 500, and Virginia 500. The proceedings are summed up in the following questions:

"1. Ought not the authority of Mr. Wesley and that Conference to extend to the preachers and people in America as well as in Great Britain and Ireland? Yes.

"2. Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the Minutes, to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labor in the connection with Mr. Wesley in America? Yes.

"3. If so, does it not follow that if any preachers deviate from the Minutes we can have no fellowship with them till they change their conduct? Yes.

"The following rules were agreed to by all the preachers present:"

"1. Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labor in America is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

"2. All the people among whom we labor to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church and to receive the ordinances there; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia to the observance of this Minute.

"3. No person to be admitted in our love-feasts oftener than twice or thrice unless they become members; and none to be admitted to the Society meeting more than thrice.

"4. None of the preachers in America to reprint any of Mr. Wesley's books without his authority (when it can be gotten) and the consent of their brethren.

"5. Robert Williams to sell the books he has already printed, but to print no more unless under the above restrictions.

"6. Every preacher who acts as an assistant, to send an account of the work once in six months to the general assistant."

The above rules meant (1) the separate

ecclesiastical organization of Methodism in America, under the authority of Wesley and his representative, the general assistant —at this time Rankin, but with a strong moral influence of the American Conference; (2) the effort to subordinate the movement to the Church of England established by law in the southern colonies; and (3) the restriction of personal liberty by a censorship of books. As to the first point, the historical evolution more and more confirmed the sagacity of the preachers in their belief that some kind of connectional bond was necessary for the largest effectiveness. As to the second point the historical evolution rebuked the preachers for their deference to Anglicanism, the new wine proving itself too strong for the old bottles. In some of the colonies the Church of England had no existence or a very feeble one, and in others many of its ministers were noted for their racing, drinking and other practices which made it impos-

sible for them to attract the serious; and even in Virginia and Maryland where that Church was established by law, and where the godlessness of the clergy gave a special fruitful field for Methodism, in that very territory the demand for the ordinances from the hands of their own preachers was the loudest; and there their administration by Strawbridge, the apostle of Maryland, who insisted on his native rights as pastor, was winked at even by Asbury. As to the third point—publication of books only by Conference action—though it was a restriction of liberty, is inconsistent with Protestantism, and has long since lapsed in all branches of Methodism, it was the beginning of a great and beneficent institution—the Methodist Book Concern, which does the publishing for the Church and gives the Church the profits. Lee interprets the action of the Conference as meaning that all the preachers were to be "united in the same course of printing and

selling our books, so that the profits arising therefrom might be divided among them or applied to some charitable purpose." Williams, with a sagacity and breadth of view worthy of a son of Wesley, had appealed to the printing-press, and had scattered Wesley's sermons in pamphlet form far and wide. This had stopped the mouths of opponents by showing the real nature of Methodism, had brought many to a clear understanding of the plan of salvation, and had opened up various new places for invitation to the itinerant.

The second Conference met in Philadelphia May 25–27, 1774. It showed ten circuits, seventeen preachers and 2,073 members. It provided that every itinerant in full relation with the Conference should own the horse provided for him by his circuit, that each preacher should be allowed six pounds (Pennsylvania currency) a quarter (having previously labored without salary), that Rankin as general assistant—that is, super-

intendent or Wesley's representative—should be supported by the circuits where he might spend his time, that a collection should be made at Easter to relieve the chapel debts and itinerants in want, and that all the preachers should exchange at the end of every six months. This last brings up one of the peculiar institutions of Methodism, the source of both its strength and weakness, its attraction and repulsion, but which was undeniably one of the chief means of its marvellous growth in its first half century. Wesley changed his preachers as often as he thought best—that is, all except the men ordained in the Church of England, once in six months, later once a year. Later still two years was the limit, and in his great Deed of Declaration of 1784 he made three years the limit of appointment to one place. This limit still holds in the Methodist Church of Great Britain and Australia, while in Canada it is since 1902 four years. In America some of the preach-

ers in the cities agreed to change every four months. The first rule of six months was made in 1774, which was lengthened to a year in 1779, to two years in 1804, to three in 1864, to five in 1888, and in 1900 the limit was removed entirely, the itinerant system of annual appointments, however, remaining intact. This applies to the Methodist Episcopal Church: the practice in the other Churches will be mentioned when they come up in the history.

The third Conference was held also in Philadelphia, May 17–21, 1775, in the midst of revolutionary excitement. Unlike their descendants the first Methodists took no action that could be construed political. All they wanted was peace and the opportunity to preach the Gospel. Considering the inflammable material that was all about them, the intense excitement of the country, the fact that nearly all the preachers were Englishmen recently come over, and the further fact that Wesley himself indorsed

Samuel Johnson's opposition to the colonies and published his views with his characteristic frankness, it is a tribute to their wonderful prudence and their single-minded devotion that so few of them were molested, that the work went on as uninterruptedly and prosperously as it did. Some of the preachers returned to England, others were imprisoned or persecuted, even Asbury with all his marvellous wisdom and reserve in this political crisis, had to sequester himself for some months in the hospitable home of Judge White, Kent County, Del., but on the whole the Methodist movement fared wondrously well in these seething times.

In this Conference three preachers were received on trial, six into full membership, and nineteen formally appointed to circuits. Members were reported as 3,148—an increase of 1,075, half of these gains being south of the Potomac. Maryland and that southern country was numerically the back-

bone of Methodism. It was provided that some preachers should still exchange quarterly, others semiannually, that the expenses of travelling from Conference to the circuits should be paid out of public collections, and that a fast should be observed for spiritual prosperity and for the "peace of America."

The next Conference was held in Baltimore, May 21–24, 1776. No contemporary official records exist of these early meetings, and our only source of information is the accounts of participants. Watters, one of the earliest of the native itinerants, gives an account which from its Methodist flavor may be taken as descriptive of most gatherings in that time. "It was a good time, and I was much refreshed in meeting with my brethren and companions in tribulation and in the kingdom of Jesus Christ. We were of one heart and mind, and took sweet counsel together, not how we should get riches or honor, or anything that this

poor world could afford us; but how we should make the surest work for heaven, and be the instruments of saving others. We had a powerful time in our love-feast a little before we parted, while we sat at our divine Master's feet, and gladly heard each other tell what the Lord had done for and by us in the different places in which we had been laboring."

The Conference was held in the Lovely Lane chapel, the second built in the city (built in 1774), but poorly furnished, as the seats had no backs, and there were no stoves and no galleries. There was a gain of 1,773 in membership, making a total of 4,921. The gains had been south. New York went down from 200 to 132, Philadelphia from 190 to 137, and New Jersey from 300 to 150. Baltimore (900) and the great Brunswick circuit in Virginia had doubled. There were twenty-five itinerants.

The fifth Conference was held in the private house—called the "preaching house"

—of John Watters, near Deer Creek, Harford County, Md., May 20, 1777. In spite of the war, there was an increase of members of 2,047, making 6,968 in all, with thirty-eight ministers. In the lack of Episcopal clergy, whom the war had returned to England, it was considered whether the preachers should administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, "for as yet we had not the ordinances among us, but were dependent on other denominations for them, some receiving them from the Presbyterians, but the greater part from the Church of England. In fact we considered ourselves at this time as belonging to the Church of England." The matter was laid over. In view of the fact that most of the English preachers had asked for certificates of character with a view of going back during the year if they had opportunity, the Conference was a sad one. "Our hearts," says Watters, "were knit together as the hearts of David and Jonathan, and we

were obliged to use great violence to our feelings in tearing ourselves asunder." By the next Conference most of the English preachers had departed. "We parted," says Garretson, "bathed in tears, to meet no more in this world. I wish I could depict to the present generation of preachers the state of our young and prosperous society. We had gospel simplicity, and our hearts were united to Jesus and to one another. We were persecuted and at times buffeted; but we took our lives in our hands and went to our different appointments, weeping and sowing precious seed, and the Lord owned and blessed his work."

When the next Conference convened at Leesburg, Va., May 19, 1778, the desolations of war had sadly decimated the northern societies. Philadelphia and New York were in the grip of the British, and a royal fleet was menacing Maryland. Some preachers had been imprisoned, and Asbury

was in confinement at Judge White's. There had been a loss of membership of 873 and of eight among the ministers. Nothing daunted the Conference took on six new circuits in the south, and received eleven as probationers for the ministry. The administration of the sacraments was considered, but laid over again for another year.

The seventh Conference was really two Conferences,—one held for the accommodation of Asbury and the northern preachers at the home of Judge White in Kent County, Del., April 28, 1779, and the other in the Broken Back Chapel, Fluvanna, Va., May 18, 1779. The first was attended by sixteen preachers and was dominated by Asbury, whose stern hand is seen in the pledge that each preacher shall take the "station this Conference shall place them in and continue till the next Conference," in the provisions that only the "assistants" (general superintendents) can appoint the

field for exhorters and local preachers, and that no "helper" (local pastor or regular preacher) can make any change in his circuit or appoint any new preaching place without consulting the assistant. Preachers were to meet the class regularly and the children once a fortnight. "Shall we guard against a separation from the Church direct or indirect? By all means. Ought not brother Asbury act as general assistant in America? He ought. First, on account of his age; Second, because originally appointed by Mr. Wesley; Third, being joined with Messrs. Rankin and Shadford by express order from Mr. Wesley. How far will his power extend? On hearing every preacher for and against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him, according to the Minutes." This virtual self-appointment of Asbury as superintendent in a session of a minority of the preachers, with the inaccurate reason alleged for it, is not a pleasing act to con-

template, though the absolute power over the determination of the Conference reserved to him is in strict keeping with the spirit of the Wesleyan movement. The Conference in England was Wesley himself, legally nothing more, nothing less, and Rankin had exercised the same power in America. But Asbury was not "joined with Rankin and Shadford," for Rankin was made sole superintendent, Asbury was ordered back to England but did not go, was always under Rankin who appointed him to circuits sometimes against his will, and Shadford was never mentioned at all as assistant. Another provision of the Delaware Conference was that preachers should be on trial two years instead of one.

The main Conference was at Fluvanna, where forty-four preachers were reported (eleven on trial), twenty circuits, and 8,577 members (increase 2,482). Virginia was the banner colony with 3,800 members, Maryland came next with 1,900, and North

Carolina with 1,500. The war had kept the north reduced—only 1,114 in all. This Conference threshed out the sacrament question, and resolved to refuse the people the ordinances no longer. The matter had been pending ever since the first Conference, the "Episcopal establishment is now dissolved and in almost all our circuits the members are without the ordinances," and many of the clergy had fled. Therefore the Conference appointed a committee—Gatch, Foster, Cole and Ellis—as a presbytery, who ordained each other by the laying of hands, then ordained the other preachers who desired it, and adopted the following course. (1) To administer the sacraments only to those "under our care." (2) To rebaptize no one. (3) To baptize by "sprinkling or plunging, as the parents or adults may choose." (4) The ceremony of baptism should be short and extempore, according to Matt. 18: 19. (5) No sign of the cross should be used, and no sponsors

in infant baptism, but the parents or guardians should be given the care of the child with advice. (6) In the Lord's supper kneeling is preferred, but the form is left to the individual conscience; and the only ceremony is singing, prayer and exhortation, the preacher delivering the bread saying, The body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Lee says that the southern preachers went forth and administered the sacraments, that great grace was upon them and large spiritual results followed. Some historians represent the Fluvanna action as unauthorized and usurping, but Stevens in a fair and convincing discussion (ii, 59–66) vindicates it.

In 1780 there were also two Conferences held, one of Asbury and the northern preachers in Lovely Lane Church, Baltimore, April 24, and the other—the main body—at Manakintown, Powhatan County, Va., May 8, though this last is strangely ignored in the official minutes published in 1795. Some

of the resolutions of the Baltimore Conference were: Confirmation of the six months itinerant limit; rising at four or at latest at five; licenses from Asbury certifying connection of preachers with the Conference; local preachers and exhorters to have licenses renewable quarterly; to remain in close connection with the Church of England; to allow friendly clergy of that Church to preach and administer sacraments in our chapel; to meet colored people in class with white leaders; to speak to every person one by one where the preachers lodge, to pray with them and give exhortation after reading a chapter; to observe quarterly fasts; to disapprove distilling liquors and disown all who do not renounce it; preachers who hold slaves to set them free, and that "we do pass our disapprobation on all friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom;" and slavery itself denounced as contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, to conscience and religion and hurt-

ful to society. As to the Fluvanna Conference, its proceedings are strongly disapproved, and the preachers composing it are looked upon "no longer as Methodists in connection with Mr. Wesley till they come back," and they must suspend their sacramental ministration one year till the matter can be referred to Wesley, and all meet together in Baltimore next year.

Asbury and other leading preachers from the Baltimore Conference went to the Manakintown Conference—called by the former the "Virginia Conference," the "Virginia brethren"—and laid proposals of peace before them. Dramatic contemporary accounts exist of the proceedings for union. Love and harmony of spirit existed on both sides, but neither would give up their opinion. The answer of the Virginia preachers was that they could not submit to the terms of union. "I returned to take leave of the Conference and to go off immediately to the North," says Asbury, "but found they had

been brought to an agreement while I was praying as with a broken heart in the house we went to lodge at; and brothers Watters and Garretson had been praying up-stairs, where the Conference sat." The numbers of 1780 were forty-three preachers and 8,504 members.

The ninth Conference met in Baltimore, April 24, 1781. Peace reigned supreme. All but one, is Asbury's glad comment, agreed to turn to the old plan and give up the administration or the ordinances. Certainly it was a modest rôle the early Methodists were content to play—to bring the people to Jesus and send them to the Episcopalians and Presbyterians for the sacraments. But it was a rôle that could not in the nature of things be permanent. For look at the increase,—2,035 in this fifth year of war, making 10,539 in all, and fifty-five preachers. Of members only 873 lived north of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. The Conference resolved "to preach the old

Methodist doctrine, and strictly enforce the discipline, as contained in the Notes, Sermons and Minutes published by Wesley:" to require a ministerial trial of two years and a membership trial of three months; arbitrators should be appointed for all cases of disputes among members—the parties to abide by the decision or be excluded; that the preachers should read often before the societies the General Rules, Wesley's "Character of a Methodist," and his "Plain Account of Christian Perfection;" that a preacher must leave to his successor an account and plan of his circuit—a kind of inventory; and that four general fasts should be held during the year.

The 1782 Conference was divided for the convenience of the preachers into two sections, the northerly meeting at Baltimore, May 21, and the southern at Ellis Chapel, Sussex County, Va., on April 17. The Virginia Conference was attended by Jarrat, a devout and earnest clergyman of the

Church of England, a kind of American Fletcher, who took great interest in the Methodists, and whose cordial attitude greatly strengthened Asbury's hands. Jarrat preached repeatedly to this Conference, administered the sacraments, and encouraged them greatly in their present attitude. If several men like Jarrat could have gone through the connection, giving the sacraments and holding the societies to the Episcopal Church, history might have been different. But the parish system forbade that. The Conference thanked Jarrat, and advised the "preachers in the south to consult him and take his advice in the absence of Asbury." The Baltimore Conference recognized Asbury as general assistant, "according to Mr. Wesley's original appointment," and required a certificate of membership to be given to those moving from one society to another. There were sixty preachers in all, and 11,785 members (increase 1,246).

The eleventh Conference was held in two sessions as before and in the same places, May, 1783. The temperance resolutions of 1780 were reinforced by the declaration that the manufacture and sale of "drams is wrong in its nature and consequences," and that preachers must "teach the people to put away this evil." Local preachers were required to emancipate their slaves wherever the civil law allowed. It was required that all "assistants"—heads of circuits, local representatives of the general assistant—and all candidates for full membership should attend the Conference. It would appear that the under-travelling preachers were not required to attend. There were thirty-nine circuits, New York and Norfolk—swept off the list by the war—now reappearing, eighty-two itinerants (increase twenty-two), and 13,740 members (increase 1,955), of whom only 1,623 were north of Mason and Dixon's line.

The twelfth and last of the early Annual

Conferences was held as before in Ellis's preaching-house, April 30, and in Baltimore, May 25, 1784. "William Glendenning had been devising a plan to lay me aside, or at least abridge my powers. Mr. Wesley's letter settled the point, and all was happy." So remarks Asbury. That letter was dated October 3, 1783, and admonished all to "abide by the Methodist doctrine and discipline, published in the four volumes of sermons, and the notes upon the New Testament, together with the large minutes of Conference." They must not receive preachers from England without recommendation, nor any "who make any difficulty in receiving Francis Asbury as the general assistant." Then Wesley says their greatest danger will be persons who "shall arise speaking perverse things, and bringing in new doctrine, particularly Calvinism. You should guard against this with all possible care, for it is easier to keep them out than to thrust them out." Rules were passed

making it obligatory upon every member to give something for the erection or relief of chapels, that preachers should avoid every superfluity of dress and speak frequently and faithfully against it in all societies," that all preachers who have "any knowledge of the notes of music should learn to sing themselves and keep close to Mr. Wesley's tunes and hymns," and that Asbury's allowance was to be £24 per annum, with his expenses for horse and travelling. For the first time the question was reported in the minutes, What preachers have died this year? Their names only are given—later a brief characterization was added, and later still a biographical sketch. The slavery rules were made stricter—local preachers who will not emancipate their slaves to be borne with another year in Virginia and to be suspended in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, travelling preachers thus to be employed no more, and for the first time members are

brought within the scope of the same requirement. Members who buy slaves except to emancipate them are to be expelled.

CHAPTER V

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

To one familiar with the course of events in England and America the complete separate organization of Methodism as a Church seems inevitable. The close of the Revolutionary War left no excuse for delay in forming that organization in America. Repeated requests had gone over to Wesley to do something for the flock; finally Asbury himself wrote that the demand for the sacraments and other Church privileges was imperative. After careful consideration Wesley resolved to act and to act promptly. No act in his life has subjected Wesley to such bitter criticism as the steps which he now took, though some critics have excused him on the ground of age or of overpersuasion. He was now eighty-two, but

in possession of his bodily and mental vigor to a remarkable degree, and continued to itinerate and to preach and write with his old power some years after this. So far from being overpersuaded he went about the matter with cool deliberation, himself taking the first step. On account of this criticism, however, it is fair to let Wesley speak for himself.

In February, 1784, Wesley called Coke into his study in City Road, London, and spoke to him in substance as follows: As the Revolution in America had separated the colonies from the mother country forever, and the Episcopal establishment was utterly abolished, the societies had been represented to him as in a most deplorable condition; that an appeal had been made through Mr. Asbury, in which he requested him to provide some mode of Church government suited to their exigencies; and that having long and seriously revolved the subject in his thoughts he had intended to adopt the

plan which he was now about to unfold; that as he had invariably endeavored in every step he had taken to keep as closely to the Bible as possible, so in the present decision he hoped he was not to deviate from it; that in keeping his eye upon the primitive Churches in the ages of unadulterated Christianity he had much admired the mode of ordaining bishops which the Church of Alexandria had practiced; (to preserve its purity that Church would never suffer the interference of a foreign bishop in any of their ordinations; but the presbyters on the death of a bishop exercised the right of ordaining another from their own body; and this practice continued among them for 200 years, till the days of Dionysius); and finally, that being himself a presbyter he wished Dr. Coke to accept ordination at his hands, and to proceed in that character to the continent of America to superintend the societies in the United States.

The matter was discussed in the Confer-

ence of Leeds and favorably reported. Vasey and Whatcoat were designated by the Conference as men to go with Coke to help the work. These were ordained elders by Wesley with the assistance of Creighton and Coke—both presbyters of the Church of England—and then Coke was ordained superintendent. Wesley presented them with the following documents which must be read by every one who would understand the origin of American Methodism as a separate Denomination.

I

"*To all to whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, Presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting.*

"Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the same Church; and whereas there does not appear to be

any other way of supplying them with ministers:

"Know all men that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer (being assisted by other ordained ministers), Thomas Coke, doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

"JOHN WESLEY."

II

"*To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America:*

"By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of America are totally disjoined from the mother country, and erected into independent states. The English government has no

authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them partly by the Congress, partly by the provincial assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire I have drawn up a little sketch.

"Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me, many years ago, that Bishops and Presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time to exercise this right, by ordaining a part of our preachers. But I have still refused; not only for peace sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish minister. So that for some hundreds of miles together there are none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's rights by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in America; as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's supper. And I have prepared a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted church in the world), which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

"If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"It has indeed been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, —(1) I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one; but I could not prevail. (2) If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. (3) If they could ordain them now they would expect to govern them, and how grievously would this entangle us! (4) As our American brethren are now disentangled, both from the state and English

hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely set them free.

"JOHN WESLEY."

Coke had a share of the catholic religions and literary tastes of Wesley, and his journal of his voyage across makes interesting reading. He reads a life of Xavier and exclaims, "O for a soul like his! But, glory to God! there is nothing impossible with him. I want the wings of an angel and the voice of a trumpet that I may proclaim the Gospel through the East and West, the North and the South." Then he turns to the life of the Congregational missionary saint, Brainerd, and writes: "O that I may follow him as he followed Christ." Wesley's proposition to give him ordination had led him to read up on the Episcopal controversy. He continued his study by read-

ing Bishop Howley's Treatise of Defense of Conformity (1703) and of Episcopacy (1707).

"He is a powerful reasoner, but is, I believe, wrong in his premises. However, he is very candid. In one place he allows the truth of St. Jerome's account of the presbyters of Alexandria, who, as Jerome informs us, elected their own bishops for two hundred years, from the time of St. Mark to the time of Dionysius. In another place he makes this grand concession, viz., 'I think not an uninterrupted line of regularly-ordained bishops necessary' (page 489). In several other places he grants that there may be cases of necessity which may justify a Presbyterian ordination. But he really seems to prove one thing,—that it was the universal practice of the church, from the latter end of the lives of the apostles to the time of the Reformation, to invest the power of ordination in a church officer superior to the presbyters, whom the church

soon after the death of the apostles called bishop by way of preeminence."

Augustine Confessions he reads daily. "St. Austin's meditations were this day made no small blessing to my soul."

But more interesting is his whiling his time with the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil which "by a kind of magic power convey me to fields and groves and purling brooks, and paint before my eyes all the feigned beauties of Arcadia, and would almost persuade me that it was possible to be happy without God. However, they serve now and then to unbend the mind."

The Methodist preachers received Coke with heartiness—no one more so than Asbury. Wesley's scheme—at least parts of it—was laid before them, and one of the most zealous and respected of preachers—Garretson—was sent to summon his laborers to a Conference which should meet at Baltimore to consider the plan. Accordingly on December 24, 1784, the

preachers came together. And here it will not be amiss to quote a contemporary opinion of Coke—that by one of the ablest of the members of that band of humble preachers who were to organize a Church whose future growth and influence was to transcend those venerable and proud ecclesiasticisms which had been for centuries in possession of the field, and which looked down with scorn and sometimes with persecuting animosity on this "ignorant and fanatical" intruder in the great harvest field. "At first," says Thomas Ware, "I was not pleased with his (Coke's) appearance. His stature, complexion and voice resembled that of a woman rather than of a man; and his manners were too courtly for me. So unlike was he to the grave and, as I conceived, apostolic Asbury that his appearance did not prepossess me favorably. He had several appointments to the circuit to which I conducted him; and, before we parted, I saw so many things to admire in

him that I no longer marvelled at his being selected by Wesley to serve us in the capacity of superintendent. In public he was generally admired, and in private he was communicative and edifying. At one time in a large circle he expressed himself as follows: 'I am charmed by the spirit of my American brethren. Their love for Mr. Wesley is not surpassed by that of their brethren in Europe. It is founded in the excellence—the divinity—of the religion which he has been the instrument of reviving, and which has shed its beneficent influence in this land of freedom. I see in both preachers and people a resolution to venture on any bold act of duty, when called to practice piety before the ungodly, and to refuse compliance with fashionable vice. I see,' he continued with a countenance glowing with delight, 'a great and effectual door open for the promulgation of Methodism in America, whose institutions I greatly admire, and whose prosperity I no

less wish than I do that of the land which gave me birth. In the presence of Mr. Asbury I feel myself a child. He is in my estimation the most apostolic man I ever saw, except Mr. Wesley.' These remarks of Dr. Coke made an impression on every mind not soon to be forgotten. He was the best speaker in a private circle or in Conference I ever heard. But his voice was too weak to command a very large audience. Yet this he could sometimes do; and when he did succeed in it his preaching was very impressive. Some of the first scholars in the country have been heard to say that he spoke the purest English they ever heard. His fine classical taste did not raise him in our estimation above the weakest of his brethren. His administration of the ordinances at our quarterly meetings was singularly owned of God. Vast multitudes attended, and the power of the Lord was present to wound and to heal. The whole peninsula seemed moved; and

the people in multitudes flocked to hear the doctor, who spent some time in this favored shore. Never did I see any one who seemed to enjoy himself better than he did, while thousands pressed to him to have their children dedicated to the Lord by baptism, and to receive the holy supper at his hands. Daily accessions were made to the Church."

In the rude Lovely Lane chapel, furnished with a stove kindly loaned by some friends and with plain benches, the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, December 24, 1784. Coke took the chair, read Wesley's letter of authorization quoted above, and submitted the matter to the body. They resolved to organize an episcopal Church, with superintendents, elders and deacons. Wesley had requested Coke to ordain Asbury superintendent. The latter refused unless he was elected by the preachers. Coke and Asbury were unanimously elected superintendents, ordination

speedily following—Asbury as deacon on December 25, an elder on the 26th, and a superintendent on the 27th, Coke being assisted by Vasey and Whatcoat in all these ordinations and in that of superintendent by Otterbein, an evangelical and pious minister of the German Reformed Church in Baltimore, who in 1800 organized the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. After that they enacted rules of discipline, considered the project of a college, ordained deacons and elders, and "ended the Conference with great peace and unanimity."

In a brief sketch like the present it is impossible to consider questions which have been the subject of fierce controversy. A word here may be said, however, on what Wesley intended in sending Coke to America. (1) Did he intend to organize a church in entire independence of the Church of England in the colonies? (2) Did he intend to institute episcopacy? (3)

Did Coke faithfully carry out his instructions? On these questions I would say: (1) There were profound inconsistencies in Wesley's relation to the Church of England. Professing constantly undiminished love for that Church, circumstances were always driving him to acts utterly inconsistent with loyalty thereto. So here. In his letter concerning Coke's appointment he says: "Whereas many people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England," etc., in which he is entirely unconscious of the purpose to establish a new Church independent of the Church of England. And yet he ordains Coke a superintendent, really a bishop, with the authority to ordain Asbury as superintendent and other preachers elders, and gives them a revised edition of the Prayer Book with the offices for the ordaining of deacons, elders and superintendents.

Could Wesley have thought that, when a Church in communion with the Church of England would have been again established in America with its own bishops, it would take over his presbyterially ordained men as ministers? He was extraordinarily guileless if he considered his commission to Coke not virtually the establishment of a new denomination.

(2) Wesley did not intend to institute an episcopacy in the sense of the bishops of the Church of England, but he did intend to institute bishops in the sense of presbyters consecrated to an office of oversight. For this purpose he transmitted an order for the ordaining of such men. They were to have neither the name nor worldly prerogatives of bishops, but they were to have spiritual powers analogous to those possessed by Wesley, which far exceeded the powers of any Protestant bishop in the world. In 1787 Asbury and Coke on their own motion took the title of bishop, which

called out a severe—though illogical—rebuke by Wesley.

(3) There is ample evidence that Coke did not carry out Wesley's instructions, but exactly wherein he failed it is impossible to say. Wesley sent with Coke a sketch or plan of the new disposition the American societies were now to receive. That sketch has never been revealed: it has perished. Henry Moore, an eminent Methodist minister in England, a contemporary of Coke, says that Coke did not in all respects carry out Wesley's thought. Besides, Coke himself confesses in his letter to Bishop White—the famous confidential letter in which he proposes his own ordination as bishop in the Church of England sense—that he went farther in the way of separation from the Church of England than Wesley intended. My own solution of the case is this: Coke found that Wesley's scheme of his American societies under the direction of two superintendents, appointed entirely

by himself and who were to be still under him, who were to ordain elders to give the sacraments, but still looking for comprehension under the Church of England or its successor in America,—Coke found that this scheme was not suited to local conditions, that it did not meet with Asbury's approval, who was thoroughly acquainted with the ground, and with whose objections Coke immediately fell in. The great founder's plan was therefore somewhat modified in the direction of a more independent position to the new Church. That these modifications chimed in with a natural and not sinful ambition and love of power on the part of both there is not the least reason to doubt. This was specially true of Coke, who said himself that it was due to him that the American Church became episcopal and not presbyterian. Asbury's refusal to act as superintendent except as elected by the Conference had a far-reaching significance.

The liturgy that Wesley provided was used in some of the city Churches for a few years, and then was quietly dropped. The genius of Methodism was inhospitable to a prayer-book. It was never printed on this side, and after 1792 all trace of it disappears. The same is true of gowns and bands, which had a brief vogue.

The disciplinary regulations were in the line of the previous development. Severe measures were taken against slavery, but the institution had become too deeply rooted, and even the strict ethical code of Methodism was powerless against a social and economic system that had woven itself into the fibre of the nation. The golden promise of these lofty rules of 1784 was not kept—perhaps could not be.

The duties and functions of the different orders or grades of ministers were fixed after the episcopal pattern in about their present form. The superintendents succeeded to Wesley's place in their power of

ordination, of presiding in the Conferences, of determining the fields of the preachers, and in their power of receiving and suspending preachers in the interval of Conference and of receiving and deciding appeals. Later action has much abridged their power in these two latter respects. The superintendent is amenable for his general conduct to the conference. The Episcopal prejudices of Asbury and Coke are seen in the hard-and-fast delimitation of the elder and deacon, according to Catholic pattern. The Minutes were to be published annually. Hitherto they had remained in manuscript, those before 1785 not being published until John Dickens issued them all in 1794 or 1795. The salary of the regular preacher was fixed at sixty-four dollars, but with provision made for wife and children under eleven, though with distinct prohibition of any fee or present for marriages, baptisms or funerals. A fund, however, was established at this Con-

ference for worn-out ministers called the Preacher's Fund (merged into the Chartered Fund in 1796), to be kept up mainly by an annual tax on the preachers. This latter feature was subsequently discontinued to the virtual destruction of the Fund as an adequate resource. Members were to have choice of modes of receiving baptism and the Lord's supper, and rebaptism was allowed. Strange to say the Methodism of 1784 was made close communion,—a restriction that was later abolished, and manuscript research has shown that for one year at least early Methodism was Baptist also in restricting baptism to immersion. Over against the close communion feature, however, was liberal provision thoroughly in harmony with the whole Methodist history that members might regularly attend divine service and receive the eucharist in other Churches without forfeiting their standing, while "they comply with our rules."

As to the doctrinal basis of the new Church Wesley stripped the Thirty-nine Articles of all their distinctively Catholic and Calvinistic elements, retaining simply the general doctrines of evangelical Protestantism. But even this abridged creed was not made a test of membership in the societies—that was a later action. The Conference did not adopt Wesley's Sermons and Notes, previous action in this respect being neither affirmed nor rescinded. These Sermons and Notes, however, remain a moral standard of great value, because they show the characteristic teaching of Wesley and his preachers, but they are not in the strict sense a legal standard as in England and Canada.

CHAPTER VI

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HEROES

PHILIP EMBURY, the first trustee, the first treasurer, the first class-leader, and the first preacher in the Methodist movement in America, served the cause gratuitously in New York until his place was taken by regular helpers. In fact, all the early preachers served for nothing, so far as salary was concerned, receiving only donations for clothing, horse, books, etc.,—the first provision for steady maintenance being made in 1774. Not long after 1769 Embury and others removed to Camden, Washington County, N. Y., where he continued to labor as a local preacher. He formed a society at Ashgrove, the first class in what is now Troy Conference. While mowing in his field in 1775 he injured him-

self so that he died, "greatly beloved and much lamented," says Asbury.

The brave and large hearted British soldier, Thomas Webb, might almost be considered the founder of Methodism in America, so early and extensive were his labors. He survived the slaughter of Braddock's defeat in 1755, lost an eye and was otherwise injured in the storming and capture of the French fort of Louisburg, Cape Breton, N. S., in 1758, and a year after (as I say elsewhere —see McClintock and Strong, "Cyc.," X 897–8) scaled the heights of Abraham with Wolfe, and saw Canada pass forever from the hands of the French. He was converted under a sermon by Wesley in Bristol in 1765, united with the Methodists and commenced preaching. We next hear of him as barrack-master of Albany. The report that the Methodists had started services in New York reached him, and he repaired thither (spring of 1767). Webb was the providential man. As Daniels finely says: "The little society

needed a leader—Webb was born to command. They needed another preacher of more experience, learning and power—Webb was one of the best preachers on the continent. They needed money wherewith to house their young society—Webb was rich and generous. It would have been a hard matter for them to have suited themselves by a choice out of all the Methodist preachers, better than God had suited them." He was soon placed in the retired list of the army, with full pay and was free to devote himself to the cause. He headed the subscription list of the John Street Church, saw it dedicated in 1768, introduced Methodism on Long Island, in New Jersey and in Philadelphia—all in 1768, made possible the purchase of St. George's Church in 1770, and traversed Delaware and Maryland. Finally the Revolutionary war made the country too hot for him, and he bade a reluctant goodbye to America. He secured a house in Portland, overlooking Bristol, but still con-

tinued to travel as a preacher, being listened to by immense congregations—in the market-places, in the open air, anywhere. "Captain Webb is a man of fire," said Wesley, "and the power of God constantly attends his word." The statesman John Adams heard him and writes in 1774, "Mr. Webb is one of the most fluent, eloquent men I ever heard. He reaches the imagination, and touches the passions very well, and expresses himself with great propriety." He died in Portland, December 20, 1796, aged seventy-two years, and was laid to rest under the chancel of the Methodist chapel there which he himself had largely helped to build.

Robert Strawbridge was an earnest, impetuous, warm-hearted Irishman, born at Drumsuagh, County Leitrim, lived in counties Sligo, Cavan, and Armagh, mostly at Tanderagee, and sounded the gospel trumpet through all those regions. In 1764 or '65, with his young wife from Terryhugan, he

emigrated to America, and plunged into the "backwoods" of Frederick County, Md. He opened his house for preaching, formed a society, built the log meeting-house near his home at Sams Creek, but not content with that became an itinerant preacher in Maryland, southern Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia. He won numerous converts, some of them became preachers (one of them was the first native itinerant—Richard Owen, another the father of the famous Bonds—the Rev. John Wesley Bond, travelling companion of Asbury, and Thomas Bond, M. D., the great conservative Methodist editor), and formed numerous societies, —the real founder of Methodism in that great southern land where it won its greatest triumphs. But we do not find his name on the minutes till 1773, and after 1775 it disappears without comment,—probably because he would not obey Asbury's iron rule, but insisted on administering the sacraments when the people desired them. But he still

continued preaching as a Methodist, until he finally became pastor of Sams Creek and Brush Forest societies. He was given a home at last by the generous Captain Ridgely at Long Green, near Baltimore, where he died probably in the summer of 1781.

Like many of the early preachers Strawbridge preached the Gospel with power and bore home upon the conscience with tremendous effect. A man who attended one of his meetings heard his heart and life described accurately, and went home in disgust. The next time he tried to hide himself behind the people, but still found the preacher apparently aiming the sermon at him. The third time he hid behind the door, but was amazed to hear the text, "A man shall be as a hiding-place," etc. To cap all, in the midst of the sermon the preacher cried out: "Sinner, come out from your scouting hole!" The man thoroughly confounded could stand it no longer, but came forward and said to the preacher, "You are

a wizard, and the devil is in you: I will hear you no more."

Asbury could never quite get over Strawbridge's independence, and when the latter died he wrote of him in words that seem almost laughable when we remember the Irishman's consecrated and conquering life, and his importance as the pioneer founder in the south: "He is no more, he is no more. Upon the whole I am inclined to think that the Lord took him away in judgment because he was in a way to do hurt to his cause, and that he saved him in mercy because from his deathbed conversation he appears to have had hope in his end."

In his eloquent address at the Centennial Methodist Conference held in Baltimore in December, 1884, President Charles J. Little compares these three pioneers: "How sharply contrasted are these three men! The impetuous, but sweet-voiced Strawbridge; the diffident, tearful Embury; the fiery, energetic, strong voiced, large-hearted

Webb! They may be called the pioneer founders of American Methodism. They came to America, not as missionaries, but two of them to seek a living, and the third in the service of his king. Their religious activity was the necessary outcome of their religious experience, and the spiritual destitution of their neighbors. Untrained though not illiterate, they demonstrated once more the contagious character of earnest conviction, the diffusive nature of living faith. Seizing upon the truths which were livable, they preached them in the light of their own experience. Their speech was what spiritual speech always should be, the mere overflow of a well of living water which was in them to everlasting life."

Robert Williams was the first to respond to the cry for help from America, and was an indefatigable laborer, being the apostle of Virginia and North Carolina. "He has been a very useful, laborious man," says

Asbury, when he died in 1775. "The Lord gave him many seals to his ministry. Perhaps no one in America had been an instrument for awakening so many souls as God has awakened by him"—standing on a stump, block, or log, he would preach to the people as they passed along. Besides, he was the first to use the printing-press and thus did another work of incalculable advantage.

John King came to America in 1769 and began immediately to preach in Philadelphia, giving out an appointment for the Potter's Field. He went through Delaware and Maryland, where Strawbridge and Williams hailed him as a welcome co-worker. His first pulpit in Baltimore was a blacksmith's block at the corner of Front and French streets, his next, a table at the corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets, which, however, some roughs overturned. He continued a laborious and a useful ministry until he located in 1803. It was to

him that Wesley wrote one of his wisest and most characteristic letters:

"My dear brother, always take advice or reproof as a favor; it is the surest mark of love. I advised you once and you took it as an affront; nevertheless I will do it once more. Scream no more at the peril of your soul. God now warns you by me, whom he has set over you. Speak as earnestly as you can, but do not scream. Speak with all your heart, but with a moderate voice. It was said of our Lord, 'He shall not cry.' The word properly means, he shall not scream. Herein be a follower of me, as I am of Christ. I often speak loud, often vehemently; but I never scream. I never strain myself; I dare not; I know it would be a sin against God and my own soul. Perhaps one may reason why that good man, Thomas Walsh, yea, and John Manners too, were in such grievous darkness before they died, was because they shortened their lives. O, John, pray for an ad-

visable and teachable temper. By nature you are very far from it; you are stubborn and headstrong. Your last letter was written in a very wrong spirit. If you cannot take advice from others, surely you might take it from your affectionate brother," etc.

I have already referred to the work of Boardman and Pilmoor, the preachers sent over by Wesley. Many were their adventures, but unhappily they left no record. Would they had been the persistent diarists of Wesley and Asbury! At Charleston, S. C., Pilmoor could find no place for preaching except a theatre. While earnestly preaching, the part of the platform where he was standing, with the chair and table gave way, descending by a trap-door into the cellar—an interruption due to some practical jokers of the baser sort. Springing upon the stage with the table he shouted in good humor, "Come on, my friends; we will by the grace of God defeat the devil this time, and not be driven by him from

our work," and invited the audience to the adjoining yard where he finished his discourse. Thousands were converted under these men. Pilmoor and Boardman returned to England in January, 1774, but immediately took up work again under Wesley. In 1785, Pilmoor returned to America, was ordained by Bishop Seabury, became rector in Philadelphia, where he carried on a spiritual and most successful ministry until his death, in his ninetieth year, July 24, 1825. Boardman itinerated in England and Ireland until his sudden death by apoplexy in Cork in 1782.

George Shadford was one of the most beautiful characters among the early itinerants. When Wesley sent him over in 1773 he wrote him: "Dear George, the time has arrived for you to embark for America. You must go down to Bristol where you will meet with Thomas Rankin, Captain Webb and his wife. I let you loose, George, on the great continent of America. Publish

your message in the open face of the sun, and do all the good you can. I am, dear George, yours affectionately," etc. Shadford had great revivals, as he preached in demonstration of the Spirit. "Moral miracles were performed, hell's dark empires shook, and victory was proclaimed on the Lord's side." A singular case of mistaken diagnosis he encountered near Baltimore. A young man convinced of sin was thought by his parents to be mad, and they chained him to a bed. They then sent for Shadford who prayed with and counselled him, and led him into the light of God. He was loosed from his chains, became a preacher, and won many converts. In 1775-6 under Shadford and his assistants one of the greatest revivals known in American history occurred in the extensive Brunswick circuit, Virginia. "I cannot describe," says Lee, "one half of what I saw, heard and felt. Such a work I had never seen or heard of before. It continued to spread through the

southern parts of Virginia and the adjacent parts of North Carolina all that summer and autumn." People were prostrated under the power of God. Jarrat, a devout and earnest Episcopal minister, entered heartily into this work. "Many experienced perfect love," says Jarrat, at this time and their lives proved it. "Upon the whole, this has been a great deep, a swift, and an extensively glorious work," continues the enthusiastic rector. It sent hundreds of people into the Episcopal Church as well as into the Methodist societies: in fact it was such work as these humble itinerants did which saved the Episcopal Church from extinction in various sections of the south. As the Revolutionary years wore away, Shadford found great difficulty in pursuing his work. "I could not travel without a pass, nor have a pass without taking the oaths." He met Asbury at Judge White's in Delaware. "Let us have a day of parting and prayer," said Shadford, "that the

Lord may direct us; for we were never in such circumstances since we were Methodist preachers." In the evening when they met Shadford asked, "What is your conclusion?" "I do not see my way clear to go to England," said Asbury. "My work is done," replied Shadford; "I cannot stay; it is impressed on my mind that I ought to go hence as strongly as it was at first to go to America." "Then one of us must be under a delusion," said Asbury. "Not so," said the clear-headed Shadford, "I may have a call to go, and you to stay." He returned to England in 1778, labored under Wesley until 1791, retired to Frome on account of failing strength, still labored earnestly as opportunity offered, and died March 11, 1816, aged seventy-seven—a beautiful spirit, loving and beloved, and a great revivalist.

Thomas Rankin was a strong-minded Scotchman whom Wesley appointed his representative (assistant) in America, and who endeavored to bring the societies into

well-disciplined order. Utterly sincere and consecrated, his lack of tact and knowledge of American conditions brought many inconveniences to Asbury. Rankin looked upon the Revolutionary troubles as the answer of God to slavery. At a Fast Day appointed by Congress he preached at Gunpowder Falls, Md. "I told them," he says, "that the sins of Great Britain and her colonies had long called aloud for vengeance, and in a peculiar sense the dreadful sin of buying and selling the souls and bodies of the poor Africans." He helped Shadford in the mighty revival spoken of above, and saw whole congregations given up to prayers and cryings and triumphant rejoicing, and himself and Shadford so overcome as to be able only to sit still and see the glory of God. A Virginian justice gave him this testimony: "How amazing the change wrought in this place! Before the Methodist came into these parts, when I was called by my office to attend court, there

was nothing but drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and fighting most of the time the court sat; whereas now nothing is heard but prayer and praise and conversing about God and the things of God." He returned to England in 1778, and labored under Wesley in London until his death, May 17, 1810. His severity and peremptoriness as assistant in America greatly annoyed Asbury, and recent researches among Asbury's manuscripts have shown that both write to Wesley in no complimentary manner concerning each other. In fact Wesley at one time recalled Asbury, but the latter was then hundreds of miles from where a letter could reach him, and thus he was fortunately saved from leaving the country upon which he had set his heart.

Of Asbury himself I can do no better than to quote the fine characterization of Prof. Charles J. Little ("Centennial Conference Proceedings," N. Y., 1885, 218).

"He had a robust figure, a face of

blended sweetness and severity, an eye that saw far more than it revealed, a voice steadied by an iron will, but tremulous with feelings that sometimes shook his soul as a reed is shaken by the wind. He had none of Williams' wild earnestness; he was without the charm of Strawbridge or the gentle harmlessness of Richard Whatcoat. He had not the thorough humanness of Jesse Lee, nor the mystical tenderness and strength of Freeborn Garretson.

"'Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart;
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea;
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way
In cheerful godliness, and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.'

"He had refused to live in cities, and by his ceaseless movements kept alive the arterial system of early Methodism. How different were the men who fell into each other's arms at Barrett's Chapel on the 14th of November, 1784—Thomas Coke, the only child of a wealthy house, and Francis

Asbury, the only son of an English gardener! The one an Oxford graduate; the other the self-taught scholar of a frontier world. Coke, impulsive, fluent, rhetorical; Asbury, reticent, pithy, of few words, but mighty in speech when stirred by a great theme, a great occasion, or the inrushing of the Holy Spirit. Coke's mind was as mobile as his character was stable. Asbury's conclusions matured of themselves, and, once formed, were as steadfast as his love for Christ. Coke could never separate himself wholly from England; Asbury could never separate himself from America. Coke crossed the Atlantic eighteen times; Asbury never crossed it but once, not even to see his aged mother, for whose comfort he would have sold his last shirt and parted with his last dollar. Coke found missions in the West Indies, in Africa, in Asia, in England, in Wales, in Ireland; Asbury took one continent for his own, and left the impress of his colossal nature upon every

community within its borders. Coke was rich and gave generously of his abundance; out of his poverty Asbury supported his aged parents, smoothed the declining years of the widow of John Dickens, helped the poor encountered on his ceaseless journeys, and at last gave to the Church the legacies intended for his comfort by loving friends. Coke was twice married; Asbury refused to bind a woman to his life of sacrifice, and the man whom little children ran to kiss and hug was buried in a childless grave. Both were loved; both were at times misunderstood; both were sharply dealt with by some of their dearest friends; but Asbury was not only opposed and rebuked, he was vilified and traduced. Neither shrank from danger nor from hardships; but Asbury's life was continuous hardships, until at last rest itself could yield him no repose. A sort of spiritual Cromwell, compelled obedience at every cost to himself as well as to others, Asbury could have broken

his mother's heart to serve the cause for which he died daily. Coke lies buried beneath the waves he crossed so often; but around the tomb of Asbury beat continually the surges of an ever-increasing human life, whose endless agitations shall feel, until the end of time, the shaping of his invisible, immortal hand."

Asbury was the coordinating force that kept the societies together, consolidated them and made them into a denomination, which at his death extended over the Alleghany Mountains, which he crossed several times, down into Tennessee far beyond the confines of the thirteen colonies. He knew how to unite strict discipline and the autocratic rule which Wesley stamped on the Methodist movement, with mildness and concession, and by yielding certain rights to the Conferences had the wisdom to keep all his own unimpaired. He and Coke stamped the Episcopal polity on American Methodism, assumed on their own motion

the title of bishop, and when Coke tried to retrace his steps and bring the new Church into relation to the Protestant Episcopal Church, he did so secretly, and afterwards exposed himself to the rebuke both of Asbury and the Conference. Asbury's career is surpassed only by that of Wesley, and in the dangers encountered in penetrating new and wild lands and the physical privations endured, even Wesley must yield the palm to this tireless apostle. His biographers reckon to him 16,500 sermons, 270,000 miles travelled—mostly on horseback, only in his later feeble years with a carriage, 224 annual Conferences as president, and more than 4,000 preachers ordained. Such a record will probably remain unique in the history of the world. Coke alternated between Europe and America—full of ambition for the spread of the gospel, and died in the Indian Ocean on his way to introduce Methodist missions in Ceylon, May 2, 1814. Asbury laid down his tired body to

its last sleep in Spottsylvania, Va., March 31, 1816. His bones lie in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore.

Philip Gatch was perhaps the only minister whose life has been written by a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States (See "Sketch of Rev. Philip Gatch," by the Hon. John McLean, LL. D., Cincinnati, 1854), but no honor was more worthily bestowed. Born near Georgetown, Md., in 1751, made an exhorter in 1772 after a wonderful conversion, sanctified by reading one of the Williams' printed sermons of Wesley, he was sent out—such was the dearth of laborers—at the age of nearly twenty-one to travel the rough road of a Methodist preacher. In Frederick circuit, Maryland, a ruffian was about to attack him with the chair at which he was kneeling, but was thrown out of the house by some of the worshippers. An Episcopal minister, Kain, tried to silence and confute him, at one of his services, but was himself silenced and put to shame by the simple, modest but masterly defense of

the young preacher. At another time he was seized by two men and led to a tavern and ordered to drink, but refused, and while they were disputing as to what should be done to him he escaped. His biographer says that "since the days of the apostles there had scarcely been a time when so much prudence, firmness, enduring labors, and holiness were required as in the propagation of Methodism in America." At one of his appointments three of the leading citizens threatened him, but were finally won, due, as one historian says, to his "combined courage, calmness and suavity." He was thrown from the door of the house where he was to preach, but another house was immediately opened. He was tarred by a mob on his way to preaching, but afterwards saw the leader and some of his associates converted. A conspiracy was formed to murder him, but the plot was revealed and he escaped. This part of Maryland was thoroughly demoral-

ized, as witness the whipping of an exhorter till his shirt was cut to pieces. But these brave preachers never faltered; back they came in due time to their appointments. "I never missed an appointment," says Gatch, "from the persecution through which I had to pass, or the dangers to which I was exposed. I sometimes felt great timidity, but in the hour of danger my fears always vanished." Through ill-usage and exposure, however, his health failed, and he had to give up these long itinerating journeys. About 1778 he retired on a farm in Powhatan County, Va., but continued to labor most effectively as a minister in all that region. By marriage he came into possession of nine slaves, whom he emancipated in the following noble words: "Know all men by these presents that I, Philip Gatch, of Powhatan County, Virginia, do believe that all men are by nature equally free; and from a clear conviction of the injustice of depriving my fellow-

creatures of their natural rights, do hereby emancipate and set free the following persons." In October, 1798, he started for Miami, Ohio, where he was most useful both as a preacher, a judge, and a member of state convention, and where he died in 1835 full of years and honors. His persecutors are forgotten, but Philip Gatch's name shall shine as the brightness of the firmament forever. He turned many to righteousness.

A companion of Gatch, William Watters, entered the work about the same time, and continued it with the same devotion and fortitude. "I often preached, prayed and exhorted, till I was so exhausted that I was scarcely able to stand. The flame not only spread among sinners, but among professors of religion also and even reached my poor heart, so that I could not but bless and praise God's holy name that though I was deprived of many conveniences, yet he made all up unto me, and I was contented

to sleep in cabins, to eat a dry morsel, and frequently to retire in the woods to read, to meditate and to pray." Watters was one of the noblest characters of the early time, and his self-denying labors greatly extended the cause. Fortunately he wrote memoirs of his life, which have preserved many welcome facts.

Persecution was the daily food of these brave men, especially in Maryland. Garretson was imprisoned in one county and cruelly beaten in another. In Annapolis Forrest and Wren were jailed; in Prince George County a preacher was tarred and feathered; in Queen Anne Joseph Hartley was bound over by £500 not to preach in the county; and in Talbot he was whipped and imprisoned, but still preached through the gratings of his window to crowds of people, many of whom were converted, until he was discharged; in Dorchester Pedicord was whipped and scarred for life; and in the same county Foster was brought

before the court and fined. Well does Cooper say in his sermon on Asbury, "They spent all—their time, their blood, their lives—to win souls to Christ." The Episcopal Church was established by law in the South, as the battered and bleeding Baptists, Quakers and Methodists found to their sorrow.

On account of these adventures the life of Freeborn Garretson is a romance, but to its fascinating pages the reader must be referred. He entered the work in 1775, planted Methodism in Nova Scotia in 1785, labored in the south and in all the eastern states, and never faltered in his self-denying labors. In parts of the south he found the people virtually heathen, and he left them Christianized and civilized. The whole aspect of the country was changed. The people left off gambling and idleness, and began to till their lands and build decent houses. The reply of a man whom he asked if he knew the Lord Jesus soon be-

came impossible, "I know not where the gentleman lives." Garretson was appointed by Wesley in 1787 as superintendent of the British dominions in America, but Asbury sent him to Maryland again. In 1788 and following years he and his brave assistants carried the Gospel all through the northern New York country, a vast region where it has won some notable successes. Garretson is an honorable name in American Church History, in the extent of his travels, the number of souls he brought into the kingdom and of churches he organized.

Jesse Lee is another great name in these foundation years. A native of Prince George's County, Virginia, he preached his first sermon in 1779, but the next year was drafted into the continental army. Like many of the early Methodists, the Baptists of the Reformation times and others who took the ethics of Jesus seriously, he had profound objection to war, and refused to bear arms, though willing to serve the sol-

diers spiritually or in other helpful ways. Fortunately his scruples were respected, and after a season of useful service he was released. In 1783 he was received on trial in the ministry and began those labors which did so much for Methodism north and south. In these annals he is chiefly celebrated as the apostle of New England. He had a longing to try his Gospel on the hearts of the New Englanders, but Asbury would not consent, believing the field unfavorable. Finally, in 1789, he was sent into Connecticut. He began his ministry at Norwalk, Conn., June 17, 1789, preaching his first sermon under an apple tree at the roadside. It was a hard field—this cold, critical, Calvinistically indoctrinated New England. "I suppose the reason I had so many to hear me," said Lee at a later time, "was owing to their ministers preaching against me two Sabbaths in succession." On Sunday evening, July 11, 1790, he stood upon a table in Boston Common under the

old elm that fell in the great gale of February 15, 1876, and began to sing:

> Come, humble sinner, in whose breast
> A thousand thoughts revolve;
> Come, with your guilt and fears oppressed,
> And make this last resolve:
>
> I'll go to Jesus, though my sins
> Like mountains round me close;
> I know his courts, I'll enter in
> Whatever may oppose.

He gave out as his text, "Ye must be born again" (John 3: 7). Thus Methodism—well represented by this hymn and text—came to Boston town. "I love to break up new ground," he said, "and hunt the lost souls in New England, though it is hard work. But when Christ is with me, hard things are made easy, and rough ways smooth." After preaching in one place he rode on to another, "my soul transported with joy, the snow falling, the wind blowing, prayer ascending, faith increasing, grace descending, heaven smiling, and love abounding."

Lee spent eleven years in New England and left that country with fifty preachers and 6,000 members. The rest of his life was spent in the south as pastor and presiding elder. In 1807 he published his "History of Methodism in America," the first work of the kind. He was the first Methodist who served as chaplain in Washington (House of Representatives, 1812–13, Senate, 1814–16). As American born he tried to introduce more democratic features in Methodist polity, as, for instance, making the presiding elder elective instead of being appointed by the bishop, but was defeated. He was a man of great force of character and nobility of spirit, eloquent, with a soul touched by both humor and pathos, and he did a work as worthy of honor as Asbury.

It is impossible to speak of other early heroes as deserving of mention as the above: of Abbott, the flaming evangelist of New Jersey and one of the most re-

markable characters in American Church history; of Poythress who bore the standard in 1783 across the Alleghanies to the Youghiogheny, and who was nominated bishop by Asbury in a letter to one of the Conferences; of the pathetic and beautiful-souled Pedicord, who by singing a hymn converted a Revolutionary soldier, Thomas Ware, who became a founder of Methodism from New Jersey to Tennessee and left in his Autobiography an invaluable memorial; of Tunnell who with Ware descended upon the Holston country in Tennessee in 1789, but who like many of the pioneers died prematurely worn out by the fatigue and exposure of their fearful journeys; of the philosophical Gill, who so impressed Dr. Rush that that eminent physician used to defend the Methodists from the common charges of ignorance and fanaticism; of young Richard Ivey, who when he was preaching before some Revolutionary soldiers who came to terrify and spy him out,

said, "Sirs, I would fain show you my heart: if it beats not high for legitimate liberty may it ever cease to beat," and who so won all hearts by the spiritual earnestness of his sermon that the soldiers swung their hats and shouted, "Hurrah for the Methodist parson!" of John Major, the "Weeping Prophet," whose wonderful pathos could penetrate the steel-clad reserve of the most haughty natures; of Henry Willis, the beloved, of whom Asbury said once when he visited his grave (speaking also for his brethren): "Henry Willis! Ah! when shall I look upon thy like again! Rest, man of God!" of Haggerty, who could preach in both English and German; of Nelson Reed, little in stature but great in spirit, who preached for sixty-five years, and who made that courageous answer to Bishop Coke when the latter introduced a resolution into a Conference which seemed despotic, and which was answered by an impulsive Irishman Mathews arising and

shouting, "Popery, Popery, Popery!" but was immediately silenced by Coke, who however tore up his resolution and looking around upon the preachers asked, "Do you think yourselves equal to me?" whereupon Reed arose and turning to Bishop Asbury said: "Dr. Coke has asked whether we think ourselves equal to him; I answer, yes, we do think ourselves equal to him, notwithstanding that he was educated at Oxford, and has been honored with the Degree of Doctor of Laws; and more than that, we think ourselves equal to Dr. Coke's king,"—a reply which alone ought to keep green the name of Nelson Reed forever; of Philip Cox, who though he had sometimes to preach sitting, spoke with such strange power that whole congregations almost were converted at a sermon, that persecutors fell down as though dead, and the "first quality of the country, with their silks and broadcloths, powdered heads, rings and ruffles" could neither speak nor stir; of

George Mair, a bright and shining light, instant in season and out of season, of whom wonderful stories are told; of the laborious Bruce, the bold Everett, the Roman Catholic Moriarty one of the many preachers converted from that faith; of Hickson whose splendid soul dwell in a shattered body, who formed the first class in Brooklyn and who wished to be a missioner in Nova Scotia but was wisely forbidden by Asbury; of Ellis the "powerful reasoner"; of John Easter, the Benjamin Abbott of the south, called "this awful messenger of truth," under whom bishops McKendree and George were converted; and of many others whose names are in the Book of Life. In the early annals of Methodism, in Asbury's Journal, in Lee and Ware, in Garretson and Watters, in the later historians Lednum and Wakeley and Atkinson, and in Stevens's larger work, the reader will find their fascinating story, or briefly in the brilliant address of Professor

Little on the "Methodist Pioneers and their work" (Methodist Centennial Conference, pp. 214–226), with its penetrating and illuminating characterizations. No romance, no history, no book of adventures, is more interesting.

Constitit, et lacrimans, Quis jam locus, inquit, Achate,
Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
—Vergil, Aen. i, 459, 460.

CHAPTER VII

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

ASBURY lived long enough to see Methodism distributed into nine Conferences: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, New England, Genesee, and Ohio. Since that she has gone into every state in the union, keeping pace with the marvellous growth of the nation. No lonely pioneer camp-fire was too far west for the circuit rider, who anticipated the farthest settlement, and, beyond railroads, beyond wagon roads, followed Indian trails or streams, forded or swam bridgeless rivers, awoke the echoes of pathless forests, and disturbed the primeval solitudes where wolf and bear held sway. It is the aim of this chapter to tell a few facts of this nineteenth century de-

velopment, sometimes in the very words of the pioneers.

"I have often ridden," says John Kobler, who went through Ohio in 1798, "fifteen or twenty miles through the woods where no one lived, the people having fled from danger; and I rode alone, for I never had any guard but the angels. The houses were very small, often with only one room and fireplace, around which the whole family—children, dogs and all—crowd and seem to claim the same privileges or possess equal rights." For private devotion the woods were an excellent place where also, seated on an old log, with Bible and hymn book and some of Wesley's books, sermons were composed, which on returning to the house were preached with power.

Henry Smith, who rode the Scioto circuit in 1799, would ride for miles, then find a solitary cabin, call the family together, tell them his business, talk to them on religious

matters, pray with and for them, "give them a short exhortation, and leave them all in tears," and thus make the beginning of a Church, a circuit, a Conference, a College.

In travelling near Cadiz, Ohio, James B. Finley had a commonplace experience which is typical of many. He found a habitation in the woods and the family at their evening meal. "They occupied one side of the fireplace, and a calf occupied the other. I was invited to join the evening meal, which I did with a good relish, as I had eaten nothing during the day. After supper was ended I asked the old gentleman in regard to his nativity, his religious profession, etc. On his informing me that he was a Roman Catholic I inquired how he got along without his confession. At this he became visibly agitated, and informed me that he had not seen a priest for years, and that he was laying up money to go to Pittsburg to obtain absolution. I then asked him if he had experienced the

new birth, or if he had been born again. To this question he seemed unable to give an answer, and manifested still more uneasiness. He asked me what I meant; for said he, 'I am now seventy years old, and I never heard such a thing in my life.' Becoming alarmed he called his son John. I told him he need not be excited as I would do him no harm. He then asked me if I was a minister. I told him I tried to speak to the people, and teach them the way of salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The whole family seemed alarmed at the conversation; but I spoke kindly to them, and after their fears were somewhat quieted, I took out my Bible, and reading a part of the third chapter of John, I spent an hour in explaining to them the nature and necessity of the new birth. The family listened to what I said with the most profound attention, and silence was only interrupted by their sighs and tears. After prayer we all retired to rest for the night.

"In the morning previous to leaving the old gentleman invited me to preach to the neighborhood when I came round again, which I promised to do, enjoining on him and his family the necessity of prayer to God. Nothing worthy of peculiar note occurred till I returned to this house I found at the time appointed a large collection of people, and preached to them salvation in the name of Jesus. The Lord attended his word with power; many were awakened, and a good work began," of which this family were leaders.

That is an instance of ordinary methods of pioneer work. Here is another of a camp or open air meeting, an institution which played a great part in the evangelization of the middle West in the last part of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. Meeting-houses were too small, and the crowds assembled in the open air. "I commenced reading a hymn," says William Burke, "and by the time we

concluded singing and praying we had around us standing on their feet by fair calculation, ten thousand people. I gave out my text: For we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ; and before I concluded my voice was not to be heard for the groans of the distressed and the shouts of triumph. Hundreds fell prostrate on the ground, and the work continued on that spot till Wednesday afternoon. It was estimated by some that not less than five hundred were at one time lying on the ground in the deepest agonies of distress, and every few minutes arising in shouts of triumph. Towards the evening I pitched the only tent on the ground. Having been accustomed to travel in the wilderness I soon had a tent made out of poles and pawpaw bushes. Here I remained Sunday and Monday; and during that time there was not a single moment's cessation, but the work went on, and old and young—men, women and children—

were converted to God. It was estimated that on Sunday and Sunday night there were 20,000 people on the ground. They had come far and near, from all parts of Kentucky; some from Tennessee, and from north of the Ohio River; so that tidings of Cane Ridge meeting were carried to almost every corner of the country and the holy fire spread in all directions." See the admirable "History of Ohio Methodism," by John Marshall Barker, Ph. D., Cincinnati and New York, 1898. It is only as we remember such scenes as these that we can account for the rapid spread of Methodism.

In one of these meetings while Bishop McKendree was preaching the power of God came upon the congregation so that he sank overcome in the arms of Burke sitting behind him. "I instantly raised him to his feet, and the congregation said his face beamed with glory. He shouted out the praise of God, and it appeared like an electric shock to the congregation. Many fell

to the floor like men slain on the field of battle. The meeting continued till late in the afternoon, and witnesses were raised up to declare that God had power on earth to forgive sin, and to cleanse from all unrighteousness. From this meeting the work went on with astonishing power: hundreds were converted to God."

Peter Cartwright describes the customs of the Methodists as he saw them in Ohio and elsewhere in 1804. "We had no pewed churches, no choirs, no organs; in a word we had no instrumental music in our churches anywhere. The Methodists in that early day dressed plain; attended their meetings faithfully, especially preaching, prayer, and class meetings—they wore no jewelry, no ruffles; they would frequently walk three or four miles to class meetings, and home again on Sundays; they would go thirty or forty miles to their quarterly meetings, and think it a glorious privilege to meet their presiding elder, and the rest

of their preachers. They could, nearly every soul of them, sing our hymns and spiritual songs. They religiously kept the Sabbath-day; many of them abstained from dram-drinking, not because the temperance reformation was ever heard of in that day, but because it was interdicted in the General Rule of our Discipline. The Methodists of that day stood up and faced their preacher when they sang; they kneeled down in the public congregation as well as elsewhere when the preacher said, Let us pray. There was no standing in time of prayer. They generally fasted once a week, and almost universally on the Friday before each quarterly meeting." Like Catholic monks the pioneer Methodist preachers took virtually the vows of poverty and obedience, though not of celibacy.

Cincinnati, first permanently settled in 1788, heard its first Methodist sermon from John Collins, a local preacher and farmer, in 1804, and when John Sale, the first regu-

lar minister, came there in the same year he found a class of eight persons. The first love-feast was had in the log court-house in 1805, and the first church was built on the northwest corner of Fifth Street and Broadway, at that time open fields, in 1806. The celebrated Wesley chapel took the place of this little old stone church in 1831.

Preachers had visited Indiana from Ohio and Kentucky as early as 1800. The first pastoral charge was Silver Creek, opposite the falls of the Ohio, 1807, in which year also the first church was built. McKendree preached in Clark County in 1803, and the first camp-meeting was in 1806 or '07. It was not till 1832 that the first separate Conference (the Indiana) was formed within the state. This was divided into two conferences in 1844 by the boundary of the great national road.

The French settled in Illinois in 1682, but it was not till about 1780 that the Americans

came up from the South over the Ohio. The country north of the line drawn from Peru to Indiana remained vacant till 1835 when settlers began to pour in from the East,—New York and New England. The first class was formed in St. Clair County in 1793, with Captain Joseph Ogle as leader. The first mention of Illinois on the Minutes is in 1803, and this appointment of "Illinois" continued the only one mentioned till 1815. In 1824 the Illinois Conference, consisting of Illinois and Indiana, was set off. There were nine appointments in Illinois. In 1830 there were thirty circuits. The first Conference on Illinois territory was held at Shiloh, St. Clair County, in 1820, and the second at Padfield's on Looking Glass Prairie, October 23, 1824. Earnest efforts were made to Christianize the Pottawatomie Indians at this early time under the heroic labors of Jesse Walker, who was also the first to introduce Methodism into Chicago in 1830—then a year old hamlet of half a dozen

houses. The first Methodist work with the white settlers in what is now the Rock River Conference was at Galena in 1828.

The year after the first steamboat reached St. Louis, Jesse Walker, the veteran pioneer, rode into that city "to take St. Louis" (1818). Some members of the Legislature who had known him before expostulated with him, as they said the people were all Catholics or infidels, and that he could do nothing. "I have come in the name of Christ to take St. Louis," said Walker, "and by the grace of God I will do it." He hired a room, began services, organized a free school for the instruction of the children of the poor, and at the end of the year had a church building, a school, and sixty Church members. In 1820 Isaac N. Piggott was appointed, and in 1821 St. Louis circuit was organized, which reported eighty-seven members in 1822. Missouri as a border state was a scene of intense feeling on the slavery question, and after the organization of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, South, ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Missouri, Arkansas and states to the south, though not active as anti-slavery reformers, were frequently ill treated, mobbed, tarred and feathered, expelled, or murdered. The most notable case of this latter was the martyrdom of the Rev. Antony Bewley (born in Tennessee 1804, admitted to Holston Conference in 1829, into the Missouri in 1843) at Fort Worth, Texas, September 13, 1860. Full details of this and all other persecutions, with the orginal documents and copious extracts from contemporary sources, are given in Dr. Charles Elliott's "Southwestern Methodism: a History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southwest from 1844 to 1864" (Cincinnati 1868).

In 1804 Nathan Bangs visited Detroit and met with no success. The inhabitants were mostly French Catholics. Only a few children came to the service. He "shook off the dust of his feet against them, and

took his departure. In about four weeks from this the town was consumed by fire." Later Protestant settlers moved in. In 1823 Alfred Brunson was stationed in Detroit circuit which included 400 miles of country. Over this vast tract Brunson and his colleague, Samuel Baker, went every month, giving the people fortnightly services. In 1824 there were 161 members.

The Rev. P. S. Bennett turned up every stone in his search for information for his "History of Methodism in Wisconsin," Cincinnati 1890, and he has shown that the first religious service conducted by a Protestant within the present limits of Wisconsin was by Dr. Jedediah Morse, father of the famous J. S. B. Morse, who was sent by the government on business connected with the Indians, and preached at Green Bay in 1820. The first religious service conducted by a Methodist was by Colonel Ryan at Fort Howard in 1826; the first sermon by a Methodist preacher was by John Dew near Gra-

tiot's Grove in the latter part of 1828; the second and the first class-meeting were at Platteville in 1832, the same year in which John Clark preached the first sermon, organized the first class in what is now Wisconsin Conference; and that John T. Mitchell was the first to organize societies and build a church in 1833-4. The first Methodist sermon preached in Milwaukee was by M. Robinson in 1835, where a class was formed in 1836. Farther and farther west and north the pioneers pressed. "With our horses hitched to a tree," says one of them, "our feet to the fire, the earth for our bed, and the heavens for our house, we slept, without fear of being robbed by tramps. Though the woods were alive with wolves or other animals, they did not disturb us." One of the Wisconsin pioneers just mentioned, John Clark, went as a missionary to Texas in 1841, travelling in a wagon with his wife and son a thousand miles. After valiant service there, he was transferred to Troy

conference, then to Rock River, and while pastor of Clark Street Church, Chicago, in 1852, he had the honor of suggesting the establishment of one of the most useful institutions in the country—Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois—to his parishioner, Mrs. Eliza Garrett, who came to him to ask his advice in regard to some benevolent project which she had in mind. The godly and devoted Clark died of cholera in July, 1854.

The apostle of Minnesota was Joseph Hurlburt, whom the Rock River Conference sent in 1844 to the St. Croix mission, which included all the settlements of the Mississippi and its tributaries above Lake Pepin. He preached at Fort Snelling, Red Rock, Stillwater, Marine, Osceola, and St. Croix Falls, until the spring of 1846, toiling through snows and storms and frozen streams, in loneliness and want and peril. Jonathan W. Putnam succeeded him and added Point Douglas and St. Anthony Falls.

St. Paul was laid out in 1847, and Putnam preached there a few times that year. In 1848 Benjamin Close, Putnam's successor, organized the first Protestant Church in St. Paul. In 1849 Chauncey Hobart, one of the most important organizers of Methodism in Minnesota, built the first Church in St. Paul, and in 1856 the Minnesota Conference was organized. No state has had more self-sacrificing laborers than the men who saved Minnesota to Christianity, who forded and swam rivers, and walked for fifteen miles from appointment to appointment through trackless woods, regaled by the jackal's scream or the wolf's howl or the bear's growl, or through untrodden prairies with the grass five feet high.

Westward, then, the course of Methodism took its way. Kansas was entered in 1830, first among the Indians and then the whites, and the first Conference was organized in 1856. Gold was discovered in Colorado in 1859, and on the heels of the first miners

W. H. Goode was sent to organize a Church. The Rocky Mountain District was formed in 1860. In 1870 Lewis Hartsough brought the Gospel of Christian manogamy to Utah. In 1860 Dakota was entered, and in 1876 the Montana Conference was organized. Long before that, Jason and Daniel Lee had made a long and perilous journey to Oregon (in 1834), in response to that celebrated embassy in 1832 of two Indian chiefs from Oregon to St. Louis, asking for some one to come and teach them the white man's Book and the white man's God. In 1836 and 1839 others were sent to help the Lees, and in a few years (1848) an annual Conference was organized for Oregon and Washington. The romantic story of Methodism in California would itself take a volume: how William Roberts of the New Jersey Conference and James H. Wilbur of the Rock River Conference were sent to help Oregon, but established a class in San Francisco on their way, April,

1847; how this was strengthened by immigrant local preacher Elihu Anthony forming classes in San Jose and Santa Cruz in the fall of 1847, and how Isaac Owen and William Taylor sent by the general Conference of 1848 did their wonderful work. Taylor's story of his adventures there as told in his "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco," N. Y., 1857, and in his "Story of My Life," New York, 1895, is one of the romances of Church history.

CHAPTER VIII

A MOTHER OF CHURCHES

It has been the fortune (or misfortune) of Methodism, in failing to conciliate her children by tempering the excessive clericalism and arbitrariness which were elements of her constitution, to provoke independent or separating movements, some of which have grown into large denominations. No doubt God has used this to advance his glory, for these daughter Churches have had a wonderful success in evangelism and other forms of Christian activity, but they have weakened the parent body by dividing or dissipating aggressive or conserving forces. Besides, ill-feelings and heart-burnings have resulted, and some souls thereby have doubtless been lost to Christianity.

Passing over the history of Methodism in England the first separation in America took place on account of the refusal of the Conference of 1792 to adopt a resolution of James O'Kelly that "after the bishop appoints the preachers at Conference to their several circuits, if any one think himself injured by the appointment, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Conference and state his objections; and if the conference approve his objections, the bishop shall appoint to another circuit." O'Kelly was one of the most earnest and consecrated of the preachers, but he inherited an Irish love of freedom, and desired a constitutional check to the absolute power of the bishop. Some of the ablest of the ministers agreed with him—Freeborn Garretson among others, but the majority thought that the proposed plan would be inconsistent with Wesley's idea, and that it would be impracticable, and therefore voted it down. It was a principle which O'Kelly could not give up, and he

therefore left the Conference, taking with him many laymen and ministers. These later united with others who did not believe in sectarian names, and formed the Christian Church or Christian Connection (to be distinguished from the Disciples of Christ), which in 1902 had 1,151 ministers and 97,207 churches. It has been charged by some that O'Kelly was heretical, but this is a mistake. His long and consecrated life both before and after 1792, the form he used in ordaining, the belief of the Christian Connection in Christ and atonement, and other evidence, should have saved him from this charge. As to the merits of his contention, it is evident that it is inconsistent with that military organization which Wesley stamped on Methodism and which has always been one of the chief reasons for its effectiveness. On the other hand a compromise might have been adopted.

Not only the episcopal organization of the Church, but the refusal of all governmental

rights to laymen, had almost from the first been causes of offense. The adoption of a republican constitution in 1789 by the states, as well as actual experience in self-government, had accustomed the minds of men to democratic ideas, in the face of which the clerical and absolutist polity of Methodism seemed both an anachronism and a personal grievance. Besides, the work for representative government by the most statesmanlike mind of English Methodism after Wesley, Alexander Kilham, could not help but influence America. It is impossible to give the history of that great agitation here. Suffice it to say that after numerous rejected appeals a union society was founded in Baltimore in 1824 for the purpose of influencing Church opinion in favor of lay delegation. A periodical was also founded for the same purpose—"The Mutual Rights of Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1824–8), an invaluable source, the files of which are

in the library of Drew Theological Seminary. A strong effort was made at the General Conference of 1828 to obtain rights for laymen. This was refused. As the friends of the movement did not desist in their agitation, many were expelled. Others left out of sympathy. These met in Baltimore, November 12, 1828, and formed a provisional Church organization. On November 2, 1830, a much larger and more representative gathering consisting of clerical and lay delegates from many states assembled in the same city,—adopted a constitution and book of discipline, and thus started the Methodist Protestant Church, which has had a great and noble part in the Christian history of America. This Church divided on slavery in 1858, but both parts came together in 1877. It has made a recent notable achievement in historiography in the most thorough discussion ever given of the internal conflicts in Methodism,—the "History of Methodist Reform and of the

Methodist Protestant Church," by the late Edward J. Drinkhouse, M. D., D. D. (Baltimore, 1899, 2 volumes), which, though written with a bias for the reformers, embodies the results of immense research.

From the point of view of an anti-slavery reformer the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject after the first few years of its existence, especially after 1800, must be considered disappointing and untenable. There had not only been a constant recession in testimony, but active participation in anti-slavery measures, or even the holding of pronounced views on freedom, on the part of ministers, made them liable to the loss of reputation and standing or even to discipline. Northern Conferences frequently passed resolutions condemning abolition and ministers who in any way connected themselves with anti-slavery movements. Matlack was denied admission to Conference because of his views on slavery, and Charles

K. True, James Floy and Paul R. Brown of the New York Conference, were tried and suspended for alleged aiding in the circulation of an anti-slavery tract (was it one of Wesley's?), and attending an anti-slavery convention. These and other measures aroused the freedom men of the church, and they held conventions,—at Cazenovia, Utica, Lowell, etc., 1838. LeRoy Sunderland, Elihu Scott and Lucius C. Matlack were active for reform. Feeling ran high. Men were judicially tried by their conferences. Finally finding that they could have no place in the old Church, many of the earnest anti-slavery advocates withdrew and in a convention at Utica, May 31, 1843, organized the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. The idea was to restore the primitive organization and ideals of Methodism. The episcopate, and even the itinerary as a formal hard-and-fast rule, were abolished; laymen were introduced into Church councils and connection with either

slavery or secret-societies was made an indictable offense.

The next division was on a much more portentous scale, being no less than the "bisection," as Dr. Buckley well calls it, of the whole Church on the question of slavery. Methodism originally, as we have seen, took strong ground against slavery, and if that ground had always been maintained either Methodism or slavery would have been destroyed in the South. Both could not have existed side by side. Coke himself, however, was early taught that slavery was the stronger power. When he preached simple "Gospel" sermons he was hailed as a messenger from heaven, but when he bore down on the evils of slavery he was met with execrations. In some places members withdrew. "While he was preaching in a barn in Virginia the subject was introduced; much provocation was felt by some of the congregation, who withdrew and prepared to offer him personal violence,

stimulated by a fashionable lady who offered the mob fifty pounds in case they would seize the preacher and give him one hundred lashes. On leaving the house he was instantly surrounded by a ferocious party, who were proceeding to put their threats into execution, but he was rescued by a magistrate and escaped in safety." Morally the argument of the hundred lashes was not effective, but practically it was tremendously so, as it meant that the Church must not interfere with the institution in the South. And she did not. Resolutions were passed speaking of slavery as an evil, and it was understood that ministers should not hold slaves, but the Methodist Church had some of her greatest triumphs in the South. Slave holders were her office bearers everywhere and her cordial supporters by prayer and purse. A northern convention in 1843 declared that "from a careful collation of documentary evidence with other well-attested facts, there are within the Meth-

odist Episcopal Church 200 travelling ministers holding 1,600 slaves; about 1,000 local preachers holding 10,000; and about 25,000 members holding 207,900 more."

Sentiment in the north was rapidly crystallizing, however, accounted for partly by the ordinary progress of humane sentiment under Christianity, partly by the influence of Canada and England, partly by increased knowledge of actual slave conditions, and partly by the aggressiveness of the slave power in Church and state. When therefore Bishop James O. Andrew became by marriage the owner of slaves it was felt that his usefulness in the north, where his duties would naturally take him, would be so compromised that it would be inexpedient for him to exercise his function as bishop. The matter came up in the General Conference in 1844, when the following conservative resolution, offered by J. B. Finley and J. M. Trimble, was passed by a vote of 111 against sixty-nine after one of the most im-

portant and able debates ever held in an ecclesiastical assembly.

"Whereas, the Discipline forbids the doing anything calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment continues."

This led to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in a convention held in Louisville in May, 1845, for which the way had been paved by a Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844. The Church, South, is not

a secession, not a schism, not a new Church in the ordinary sense, but it is the successor by mutual consent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South as to its pro-slavery elements, which always had a recognized place; while the Methodist Episcopal Church still remains north and south in exactly the same position as before, except as to the session of Conferences and property in the south. To the historian the two are in a sense sister Churches of equal age and honor. The Church South is more liberal in its treatment of laymen, admitting them (since 1866) not only in the General Conference in equal numbers with ministers, but in the Annual Conferences—four from each district. It also sought a more Scriptural basis in its terms of membership, abolishing the long and arbitrary probation limit of six months.

Centralization of government and excessive clerical influence, which were of old points of stumbling, led to the formation

of a new church in Georgia in 1852 called the Congregational Methodist Church, and the movement spread to other states in the South. Another movement of the same kind led to similar results in 1881. Some of these churches, however, have been absorbed by the Congregationalists, who are now making overtures of union to the Protestant Methodists and others. In 1900 the Independent Methodist Church, which has now several congregations, was organized in Newark, New Jersey, by Charles F. Nettleship, and independent Methodist churches have been organized in Baltimore and other cities. The Primitive Methodist Church is not an offshoot of any American body, but was formed by immigrants from England who brought with them their own church of that name, which was started in 1810 by the godly Hugh Bourne, William Clowes and others, whose primitive Methodist zeal made them obnoxious to the parent church.

The only church that has sprung out of Methodist ground in America by reason of dissatisfaction with the worldliness of the church and with its abandonment of the heroic ideals of the elder time, is the Free Methodist Church, which was organized in Pekin, New York, in 1860. It was the outgrowth of a profound agitation in Western New York in the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century, and was occasioned by the alleged lapse of the Church from its primitive testimony, (1) as to slavery, (2) as to holiness, (3) as to non-conformity with the world, and (4) as to evangelical conception of doctrine. As to concrete manifestations, it was said that not only were many ministers of the Genesee Conference members of secret societies whose vows and spirit were not in conformity with Christianity, but that some of these members had formed a union for the control of the Conference and for the destruction of the influence of those who stood

for old-fashioned Methodism, and that the teachings of this powerful coterie (the "regency") as represented in their organ, the *Buffalo Christian Advocate*, were liberal to the verge of Unitarianism. An article setting forth these alleged facts written by the Rev. Benjamin Titus Roberts, M. A., in the *Northern Independent* in 1856, was the occasion of a prosecution which had widespread results. Roberts and others of the oldest and zealous and hitherto irreproachable members of the Conference were expelled, others were transferred to the far west, thousands of laymen were incensed at the proceedings, and the result was a new church. The Free Methodist Church retains a modified system of superintendency, and differs from the present body rather in emphasis than in essentials. It bans membership in secret societies, the use of tobacco, the wearing of jewelry, superfluity of dress, and seeks to make the old Methodist testimony as to

holiness still a living thing in teaching and in practice.

Methodism has had an immense vogue with the colored people, to whom its spontaneity and earnestness make special appeal. At first the colored were in the church, but on account of being thrust away in the gallery, or on account of the limited use of their services and talents, they believed that they could do more if independent. The first movement of this kind was in Wilmington, Delaware, where the Rev. Peter Spencer (colored) organized in 1813 the Union American Methodist Episcopal Church. The next was in Philadelphia where the Rev. Richard Allen organized in 1816, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. As far back as 1787 Allen had been a leader of a class of forty persons of his own color, and he erected a church for colored Methodists in 1794,—the first building of the kind in the world. The African Union Methodist Protestant

Church came on the scene in 1816, differing from the last named church in regard to episcopacy, a paid ministry, and the itinerancy. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church goes back to 1796, when some colored Methodists in New York formed a separate congregation in order that they "might have an opportunity to exercise their spiritual gifts among themselves, and thereby be more useful to one another." They built a church, dedicated in 1800, which was to receive its ministers from the Methodist Episcopal Church, though it had preachers of its own who supplied its pulpit in part. In 1820 this arrangement gave way to a formal church organization, the first annual Conference meeting in 1821. It makes large use of laymen both in the annual and general conferences, elects presiding elders on the nomination of bishops, and employs women as preachers. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1870 by the colored members

and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Evangelist Missionary Church is an organization of colored people formed in Ohio, in 1886, as a protest against some of the principles of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. It has no creed but the Bible, and is inclined to Swedenborgian denial of three Persons in Godhead, holding that in Jesus Christ dwells all the Godhead bodily. There are also Congregational Colored Methodists.

Two other churches, though not in the Methodist succession in the same sense as those mentioned in this chapter, are Methodists in doctrine and polity. One is the United Brethren in Christ, founded in 1800 by Philip William Otterbein of the German Reformed Church and Martin Boehn of the Mennonite Church, as the result of an earnest revival movement among the Germans especially in Pennsylvania and Maryland. The other is the Evangelical Association, founded by a Lutheran, Jacob Albright, in

1807 (first conference). Albright was the German Wesley of Pennsylvania. Both of these churches—especially the latter—have extensive and prosperous missions in Germany.

CHAPTER IX

CANADA

THE oldest British Colony, Newfoundland, discovered by Cabot in 1497, formally taken possession of by Gilbert in the name of Queen Elizabeth in 1583, and which had regular fisheries as early as 1502, received the first Methodist preacher who ever sat foot in the new world. Lawrence Coughlin, who had for ten years been preaching under Wesley, came out to Newfoundland in 1765, labored zealously for some years, and though he was employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, enrolled his societies as Methodist classes. It was not till 1785 that Newfoundland was placed on the minutes, when John McGeary was appointed regular preacher. In 1791 the apostolic William

Black went through the island, and saw pentecostal scenes of revival. When foreign missionary zeal awakened in the British Conference, 1815, and later, several men were sent out, among others Richard Knight and George Cubitt, "each one a host in himself." It was a hard and dreary field, but the itinerants by self-sacrificing toil built up a strong Church.

The first part of the present Dominion of Canada to be systematically evangelized by a Methodist was Nova Scotia, and its apostle was William Black. He was of a Yorkshire family who came out in 1775 to take the farms vacated by the French Acadians exiled in 1755. These Yorkshiremen were Methodists, and they began meetings in their new home. Young Black was convicted of sin. "My distress was great. I thought if I were in hell, I could not be more miserable. All the time I felt an awful sense of God and of my lost condition. At Mr. Oxley's we continued pray-

ing about two hours, when it pleased the Lord to reveal his ability and willingness to save me. I could cast my soul on him and say, I am thine and thou art mine. While our friends were singing,

"'Thy pardon I claim,
For a sinner I am
A sinner believing in Jesus' name,'

I could claim my interest in his blood, lay fast hold of the hope set before me. The Lord has my righteousness. Instantly my burden dropped off—my guilt was washed away, condemnation was removed, sweet peace and gladness were diffused through my soul. Mourning was turned into joy. My countenance told of deliverance. All my song was

"'Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost.'"

This may be taken as a typical conversion.

On November 10, 1781, Black started on an evangelistic tour through the province. He first struck the towns between Amherst

and the Peticodiac, then headed his way to Cornwallis, where the Baptists opened their pulpit, May 26, 1782. His first text was the first used by Asbury in America: "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified," and the second was the "Little Gospel" (John 3: 16). On June 4th he introduced Methodism in Horton (Grand Pré), where many cried for mercy and others shouted for joy. On June 5th he did the same for Windsor, where John Smith, whose numerous descendants are still living in the vicinity, and who had been a precentor for Wesley in Yorkshire, was his first class leader. Then he pushed on to Halifax, where he met complete indifference to religion, and on June 16th was in Windsor again. This town was good soil,—the first organized Methodist society in Eastern Canada. And thus William Black pushed on from village to village, through forests and across bays and channels, bringing the

message of the Gospel to neglected people.

The Christmas Conference of 1784 sent Freeborn Garrettson to Nova Scotia. He arrived early in 1785, and did most effective service. "He visited all parts of the province; traversing mountains and villages, frequently on foot, with knapsack on his back; threading Indian paths up and down through the wilderness; wading through morasses of wood and water; satisfying hunger and thirst from knapsack and brook by the way, while at night he had sometimes to rest his weary limbs on a bed of forest leaves." In 1785 Nova Scotia (including what is now New Brunswick) was entered on the Minutes, and in 1786 the first Conference was held in Halifax, with Black, Garrettson, Cromwell, the two Manns, and Grandine present. In 1789 Nova Scotia was dropped from the English minutes and placed on the American; and in Philadelphia in that year Black was or-

dained by Coke and Asbury and appointed superintendent of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland,—not the first bishop in Canada, as Inglis had been ordained in London two years before. In 1791 the American minutes gave the following appointments : William Black (presiding) elder; Halifax: William Jessop, John Mann; Liverpool: Thomas Whitehead; Shelburne: William Early; Cumberland: Benjamin Fiddler; Newport: John Cooper; St. John: John Ragan; Annapolis: James Boyd. But the stay of these preachers was short. Loyalist feeling was too strong, and missionary resources too weak. After 1799 England supplied the maritime provinces with preachers, which thus became connected with the Wesleyan Methodism of the old country.

In 1783 what is now St. John, New Brunswick, was granted to loyalists from the states. Among these was Stephen Humbert, a New Jersey Methodist, who began as soon as possible to hold services,

apparently more or less private, as the Episcopal Church would not allow full toleration. In these services he was assisted by the saintly Abraham John Bishop, who organized the first class meeting in St. John in 1791. In that year William Black visited St. John, but was forbidden to preach by the magistrate unless he obtained special permission of the government. In 1792 Bishop purchased a building for a church, which stood on the west side of Germain Street, between Duke and Queen Streets, and which served the infant cause till Joshua Marsden (author of the hymn, "Go, ye Messengers of God") built the Germain Street church in 1807–8. This latter was burnt down in the great fire of 1877. Bishop gathered congregations and classes, introduced Methodism into Fredericton and Sheffield, but was later sent to the West Indies, where he soon died of the yellow fever,—the Fletcher of the West. It is worthy of note that the first Methodist church built in

what is now the Dominion of Canada was in Sackville, N. B., in 1790, in which year a church was also built in St. Stephen, N. B. In 1791 Ontario saw its first church and in 1792 the old Argyle Street church was built in Halifax. The apostle of Western New Brunswick was Duncan MacColl, a Scotch soldier, who preached and formed societies in St. Stephen and elsewhere, 1791ff., was ordained by Asbury in 1795, and for forty years continued his apostolic labors.

The first organized work in Prince Edward Island (called Island of St. John's until 1799) was by William Black in 1794, who formed classes in Charlottetown and Tryon. The first regular minister sent there was James Bulpit, who was welcomed at Murray Harbor by fifty people, many of whom were Methodists from the Channel Isles, where they had been converted by Adam Clarke. The only body of Methodists other than those of the parent stock which ever came to the maritime provinces

was the Bible Christians, a number of whom emigrated from Devon, England, and settled in Prince Edward Island in 1831, followed by a minister, and these earnest folk kept up a separate organization until their half dozen congregations came into the general Methodist church in the great union of 1884. The first regular itinerant stationed in Cape Breton was Matthew Cranswick, 1829, "a man of fine presence, noble character, and a successful winner of souls."

Bermuda was visited by George Whitefield in 1748, where he preached with great power as usual and many were awakened. In 1784 Duncan MacColl, driven on St. George's by a storm, did some Christian work. Later Captain Travise of Baltimore held meetings in private houses. At length earnest request was made to Coke by influential parties for a regular missionary. John Stephenson offered, was accepted, and in 1799 left Dublin for Bermuda, where he arrived May 10. There was at this time one

minister of the Church of England and one of the Church of Scotland in the island. But earnest systematic efforts by the brave and consecrated Stephenson to convert both blacks and whites met with determined opposition on the part of the Episcopal authorities. They passed a law forbidding any but an ordained minister of the Churches of England or of Scotland to officiate in religious services. Poor Stephenson was thus found guilty in 1800, and sentenced "to be confined six months in the common jail, to pay fifty pounds, and to discharge all the fees of the court." On the 6th of December, 1800, Stephenson entered the vile and sickly jail of St. George's, from whence he issued the 6th of June, 1801,—a worthy confessor of Christ's Gospel. Through the gratings he called both blacks and whites to repentance, and his voice of praise rang through the rooms of his prison. For many years visitors could read cut on the floor of the cell:

John Stephenson
Methodist Missionary
Was imprisoned in this jail six months
and fined fifty pounds
For preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ to
African blacks and captive negroes.
St. George's, Bermuda,
June, 1801.

In 1802 he was recalled, but had to retire from active work on account of broken health. He continued to preach occasionally till his death in 1819. The subsequent history of Methodism in Bermuda as told by the Canadian Abel Stevens, the late Rev. T. Watson Smith, in his admirable "History of Methodism in Eastern British America," is full of interest, but must be passed over. The Anglican gag-law became a dead letter, and Joshua Marsden in 1808 began again the work left by Stephenson. He laid strong foundations, and on these his successors, Dunbar, Wilson, Douglas, Dawson, and others, built the enduring structure of the Bermuda Methodist Church. To-day

there are six hundred and fifty-nine members, six ministers, and five circuits in the islands, which are a district of the Nova Scotia Conference.

From 1799 to 1855 the work in the eastern provinces was supplied as a part of the vast missionary operations of the British Conference. In 1855 this work was erected into a Conference,—the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Eastern British America, generally presided over by a representative from England. In 1874 the Eastern Church united with that of Ontario and Quebec, and with the new Connection Church of the same provinces, and three separate Conferences were formed, the Nova Scotia, the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island and the Newfoundland.

Converted soldiers were the pioneers of Methodism in Quebec and Ontario, in the former Commissary Tuffey, in the town of Quebec, in 1780, and in the latter Major George Neal on the Niagara frontier in

1786. The first class was organized at Augusta, Ontario, in 1788 by the loyalists and Methodist founders of New York, Paul and Barbara Heck and their three sons, some of the Emburys, John Lawrence and others. The first regular Methodist minister to these provinces was William Losee, who early in 1790 had preached his way from Lake Champlain, through Matilda, Augusta, Elizabethtown and Kingston, and then through the Bay of Quinte townships, until a flame of revival was kindled and many converted. An earnest request was sent to the New York Conference to supply the work, and in October, 1790, Losee was appointed. In 1791 Kingston circuit was formed, including the settlements from Kingston around the Bay of Quinte and the peninsula of Prince Edward. There on Hay Bay the first church was built, and a second soon followed at Ernestown. At the New York Conference in Albany in 1792, Losee reported 165 members. The

first Lord's Supper celebrated by Methodists in Canada was in Parrot's barn, in or near Ernestown, September 15, 1792.

Brave and earnest men carried the Gospel farther west and north. In 1802 Nathan Bangs labored from Kingston to York, and in 1804 he was missionary from London to Detroit. William Case, the father of Indian missions, about the same time, organized the Thames circuit, between St. Clair and the Thames. It is unnecessary to give the steps in the wonderful development of Methodism in Canada. The history is a veritable romance of daring faith and courage. In what was then called Lower Canada (now Province of Quebec) Lorenzo Dow was the first regular itinerant, travelling through Durham and Sutton townships in 1799 to Montreal, and thence to Quebec. In 1802 Joseph Sawyer found some New York Methodists in Montreal, and in 1803 Samuel Merwin was appointed to that place, which then had a membership of

seven. In 1809 the stone church on St. Sulpice Street was dedicated,—the first Methodist church of any elegance in the two Canadas. And so the work went on until it was interrupted in part by the devastating war of 1812–14.

After this war the English government sought to increase the population of Canada. Thousands came in from the old land, including numerous Methodists, who naturally desired ministrations of their own ministers according to their own polity. Their requests were granted by the British Conference, who in 1815 appointed Richard Williams to Quebec and John Strong to Montreal. Others followed ,and soon there were two rival churches and polities in the two Canadas,—the old Methodist Episcopal from the states and the new Wesleyan Methodist from England. A truce was arranged by John Emory in 1820, by the terms of which the former body was to confine itself to Lower, and the latter to Upper

Canada. This proved unsatisfactory as many of the British emigrants in Upper Canada (Ontario) would not unite with a church that represented to them a foreign jurisdiction, and many of the residents of the lower province refused the English Methodist Church ministrations. This was met in part by the organization of an independent Canadian Conference in Upper Canada in 1824, authorized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of that year. One of the most powerful and devoted ministers, Henry Ryan, believed that national feelings were too strong to make this a permanently successful solution as the Canada Conference was still in connection with the Church in the states, and he therefore organized the Canadian Wesleyan Church. In 1828 the Canada Conference, under the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, became entirely independent of the American Church. The British Church now felt itself

for some reason relieved of the compact of 1820, and began to send ministers into Upper Canada. It made overtures of union to the Canada Church; in 1832 these were immediately accepted—so much stronger was the national than the ecclesiastical bond. All the ties which had bound the Canada Methodists to the church which Wesley organized on this continent in 1784 were snapped in a moment. Instead of mutual concession the Canada Church surrendered all the peculiarities of polity which she had received from the mother church across the border, and merged herself fully into the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England. Naturally there were those who could not go into the new church. These kept up the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, which lasted until it united with the other Methodist bodies of Canada in 1884.

Canada had its own struggle with the persecuting hand of the Church of England.

James McCarty, an earnest evangelist of the latter part of the eighteenth century, was murdered by the minions of this Church. When she could no longer prevent evangelism and organization she harassed the Methodists in every possible way. Though there was no explicit law in Canada forbidding ministers not Episcopal to celebrate matrimony, custom became a law, so that Methodist ministers who united members of their flock in marriage were fined or banished. Bishop Strachan was a specially bitter opponent of the Methodists. His representations were so grossly libelous that they were made the subject of an investigation by the Provincial Assembly in 1827, which completely refuted and exploded them. This was followed by the great Clergy Reserves controversy between the Church of England in Upper Canada on one hand, and the Protestant churches (particularly the Methodists) on the other, and which meant whether Canada was to have

an Established Church or not. Egerton Ryerson, elected editor of *The Christian Guardian* on its establishment in 1829, was the protagonist of freedom in this controversy, and rendered immortal service. This matter was not settled till 1840, when the exclusive claims of the Church of England were disallowed, though the Reserves were not completely secularized till 1854.

Space forbids a sketch of the history of the New Connection Methodist Church in Canada, the later history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that of the Primitive Methodist Church and the Bible Christian Church. In 1867 the Dominion of Canada was formed by the North American Act, consisting of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia came in later. This suggested an ecclesiastical union. Such a union was effected in 1874, between the Wesleyan Meth-

odist Conference of Eastern British America (the oldest branch of Methodism in Canada), the same church in the upper provinces, and the new Connection Church, the resulting body taking the name of The Methodist Church of Canada. In 1884 this great body received the other churches mentioned above,—the greatest and most important union movement which attained successful issue in the history of the Christian Church.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

THE first Methodists were Oxford men. If the tremendous emphasis on evangelism which characterized early Methodism (see Matthew 28: 19, 20; Mark 15: 15, 16) and the needs of the work made it impossible to wait until educated men could be secured as preachers, that was simply a necessity. Ignorance is no part of the Methodist inheritance. In the first Conference Wesley held (1744) we read:

Question. Can we have a seminary for laborers?

Answer. If God spare us till another Conference.

At the next:

Question. Can we have a seminary for laborers yet?

Answer. Not till God gives us a proper tutor.

In 1740, only two years after his conversion, Wesley took over a school started the previous year by Whitefield at Kingswood, near Bristol. It was intended for boarders and day scholars, but was later limited to the education of ministers' children. Though it had a modest beginning it was really a school of high grade, of which Wesley said himself: "Whoever carefully goes through this course will be a better scholar than nine out of ten of the graduates of Oxford or Cambridge." Wesley outlined the curriculum, making eight courses or grades, including reading, writing, arithmetic, English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, history, geography, chronology, rhetoric, logic, ethics, geometry, algebra, physics and music. For some of these subjects he prepared text-books. He insisted in thoroughness, on high intellectual and religious qualifications for teachers, and on

great care in the admission of students. A religious spirit must pervade the school. For this reason, in regard to teachers, he says: "None would answer my purpose but men who were truly devoted to God; who sought nothing on earth, neither pleasure, nor ease, nor profit, nor the praise of men, but simply to glorify God with their bodies and spirits." This school was the burden of his heart,—how he loved it, how he toiled and begged for it! A little before his death he said, "I have delivered the management of Kingswood School to stewards on whom I could depend. So I have cast a heavy load off my shoulders. Blessed be God for faithful and able men who will do this work without any temporal reward." Wesley's humble Kingswood School has sent out its lines into all the world. Its graduates have gone into parliaments and commerce, into science and learning, into all the professions and out on far off mission fields. In 1851 it was re-

moved into larger and costlier buildings at Landsdowne, Bath. In 1812 another school of the same kind was founded at Woodhouse Grove, Appleby, near Leeds. In 1835 a theological institution (with college features) was opened at Hoxton, London, another at the celebrated Abney House, Stoke Newington, where Isaac Watts—invited to spend a week—remained for thirty-six years (1712–48) the honored and beloved guest of Sir Thomas Abney. These schools were later removed to Richmond, London, and Didsbury, Manchester, where eminent scholars and theologians have written and taught. Theological institutions have also been founded at Headingly, Leeds, in 1868, and at Handsworth, Birmingham, in 1881. There are also Wesley College for boys, Sheffield, the Leys School, Cambridge (1874), and Trinity College, Taunton. Besides these the Wesleyan Methodist Church supports a system of day schools having 159,000 scholars, with an annual expendi-

ture of £259,000, including normal colleges in Westminster and Southlands. In Ireland Wesley College, Dublin, and the Belfast Methodist College, supply the needs of the Methodist people. The other churches in England have their own schools—the Primitive Methodists, a theological college in Manchester, schools for youth in York and Birmingham, and an orphanage at Alresford, the Bible Christians a college at Shebber, Highhampton, Devon, etc., etc. There are also many schools on mission fields.

Asbury had the same ambition for education. His extensive travels brought before him evidences of popular ignorance, and he desired to do something to mitigate it. His first effort in this direction was an academy in the southern part of Brunswick County, Virginia—called Ebenezer Academy by Asbury, who had a partiality for Bible names. (The name of the later Cokesbury College was due to Coke's vanity rather than to

Asbury's, who, though he magnified his office, had none of the former's self-esteem and love of honor. But for this name both were severely rebuked by Wesley.) Much obscurity rests upon this first educational attempt, but the diligent investigations of Dr. Anson W. Cummings have unearthed many facts about it hitherto unknown. It was established between 1780 and 1784 (probably 1784), was diligently looked after by Asbury, was governed by trustees, was in a two-story stone building 20x40, and the names of both teachers and graduates, some of whom became noted Virginians, are known. Some time before 1809 it went out of Asbury's hands, under the entire control of the teacher, and about 1845 was disbanded.

More ambitious was the college founded at Abingdon on the Chesapeake, twenty-five miles from Baltimore, in 1785, named Cokesbury for the two bishops. The money was collected by them, in whose

hands rested $2,500, before a stone was laid—unprecedently generous giving considering the poverty of the people. The edifice was in three stories, 108x40. It cost about $40,000, the most of it collected in small sums from a widely scattered people. On Sunday, June 5, 1785, Asbury preached the sermon at the laying of the corner-stone. "Attired in his long silk gown, his clerical bands floating in the breeze, the bishop took his stand." "I stood on the ground," he says, "where the building was to be erected, warm as it was, and spoke from the 78th psalm, verses 4–8. I had liberty in speaking, and faith to believe the work would go on." Two years later he is there to open the college. "We opened the college," he says, December 6, 1787, "and admitted twenty-five students. I preached on the text, 'Trust in the Lord, and do good.'" For ten years this school did its noble work. Asbury used to beg from door to door for its support. Alas!

for lack of endowment the burden was intolerable! "I found the college 1,200 pounds in debt," says Asbury in October, 1794. On December 7, 1795, at midnight the college edifice was burnt to the ground, with all the records, library, scientific apparatus, etc. On receiving news of this Asbury wrote in his diary, "Its enemies may rejoice, and its friends need not mourn. Would any man give me 10,000 pounds per year to do and suffer what I have done for that house I would not do it. I wished for a school, Dr. Coke wanted a college."

Undaunted the noble Baltimore Methodists bought a property on Light Street in that city, and immediately started the school again. This Asbury always called "the academy." But sad to say, this too went up in flames December 4, 1796—by accident, however, not by an incendiary, as the other.

It is not to be wondered at that the work of college building was suspended for a

time. The whole energies of the poor Methodists were required and more than required to keep pace by houses of worship, parsonages, benevolent funds, etc., with the rapidly advancing work in all parts of the country. Asbury has been criticised for concluding that perhaps the untimely fate of Coke's ambitious scheme showed that God did not at that time call Methodists to college building. But he was the wiser, as he was the more modest man, and he was wiser than his critics. Asbury did not say, God has not called us to education. He had no thought of abandoning that. As Dr. A. W. Cummings well says: "Asbury returned to his early and favorite scheme of establishing his celebrated distinct schools in all parts of the country, not already provided with schools, to which the youth of Methodist families might repair for instruction in the higher branches of learning. Some of these became good classical academies,"

and did great good for country and church, and paved the way for the educational era of 1820.

The next educational venture was in the vast territory of Kentucky made a county of Virginia in 1776 and a state in 1792, and settled in part by Methodists from Virginia and the Carolinas. The first regular itinerants visited it in 1786, followed in May, 1790, by Asbury and his companions, who plunged into the 200-mile forest which lay between Southwestern Virginia and Lexington. The Methodists had petitioned for a school; it was as much therefore for educational as for evangelistic purposes that Asbury made this great journey. Land was offered by Lewis, a Virginia Methodist who had settled in the new country, on a high bluff on the Kentucky River not far from Lexington. This was accepted, and Bethel Academy was started there, in a large three-story brick building in 1794, with John Metcalf as principal. He vigor-

ously administered it until 1805 when he removed it to Nicholasville, the county seat of the new Jessamine County in which it was situated. After 1805 it ceased to be strictly a Methodist school, though generally under a Methodist principal. It has had a continuous and honorable existence from that day to this. The original building on the Kentucky bluff was used as a neighborhood school for some years, then abandoned, the lands reverting to the Lewis estate. The noble and consecrated Francis Poythress, the first presiding elder of the Kentucky district, put his life into this school, and died almost a martyr to his devotion. Another notable laborer at Bethel was the Cokesbury alumnus Valentine Cook, "the most literary man we had in the West for some time," says Bishop Kavanaugh.

In 1792 a school was established in Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa. "We have here established a seminary of learn-

ing," writes Asbury, "called Union school. Brother Charles Conaway (presiding elder of the district) is the manager. This establishment is designed for instruction in grammar, in languages and the sciences." It did good work as an academy until it became Madison College in 1826 under the inspiration of the educational movement of 1820–5. It was under the patronage of Pittsburg Conference, and held as professors names eminent in our annals, like Henry B. Bacon (chair of moral science), Charles Elliott (languages), J. H. Fielding (mathematics, which department was also managed by John R. Reynolds and John Clark). On account of coming into possession of Allegheny College, the Church retired from the college in Uniontown in 1832. Matthew Simpson was a graduate of Madison.

On March 12, 1789, Asbury writes in his journal: "Our Conference began at Grant's, Georgia. On Thursday we appointed a

committee to procure 500 acres of land for the establishment of a school in the state of Georgia." One congregation pledged 12,500 pounds of tobacco. The school was to be named Wesley and Whitefield School, but it was never founded, partly on account of failure to secure the land, and partly on account of the shock occasioned by the fall of Beverly Allen, long one of the most brilliant and popular preachers in the South. Hope Hull, an able minister, and Asbury's friend and right-hand man in Georgia, shared Asbury's educational enthusiasm, and opened a school on his own account in 1795 at Washington, Wilkes County, Georgia, which he with other able teachers conducted until 1803, when he removed to Athens, where he became one of the leaders and chief supporters of the new state University in that town. Here Stephen Olin, the distinguished scholar and educator, came under his influence, and was later professor at Athens. Great results,

therefore, undreamt of by its promoters, flowed from the proposed Wesley and Whitefield School.

Asbury as an educational founder is not as well known as he ought to be. It is pathetic to think of this tireless itinerant, burdened with the work of evangelism and administration, bending his neck to the task of founding schools. But he saw the great future of this country, and was statesman enough to desire to preoccupy its strategic points with centres of Christian light. "We spent an evening at widow Brady's," he says, November 30, 1779, "and had some talk about erecting a Kingswood School in America." The next year he asked John Dickens, the founder of the Methodist Book Concern,—John Dickens whom he describes as his "young countryman of great piety, great skill in learning, who drinks in Latin and Greek swiftly, yet prays much, and walks closely with God,"—he asked this man to draw up a subscription paper to

erect such a school. And it was erected, as we have seen. But later another school of the same name was opened in North Carolina, but when it started and when it closed its doors for the last time we shall never know. April 2, 1794, Asbury says: "Came to a meeting-house, near Hunting Creek, in Surry County, North Carolina. After preaching I came to Cokesbury School, near Hardy Jones's. It is twenty feet square, two stories high, well set out with doors and windows. This house is not too large, as some others are. It stands on a beautiful eminence overlooking the lowlands and the Yadkin River." In that year he appointed one of his presiding elders principal.

Longer and more honorable was the history of Bethel Academy, Mount Bethel, Newberry County, South Carolina, opened in 1795, reopened 1802, well patronized by Georgia and North Carolina, as well as South Carolina, held in high esteem, mother of many distinguished men in the South.

the feeder of South Carolina College, discontinued in 1820, or rather transferred to the Tabernacle Academy, Mount Ariel, in the neighboring district of Abbeville, where Stephen Olin was principal, 1824-26, removed after many years to a more healthy site two miles distant, its name changed to Cokesbury Conference School, where it remains to this day doing good work as the official school of the South Carolina Conference.

Asbury College, Baltimore, was organized in 1816—the first chartered Methodist college in the world—whose soul was the learned and pious physician and local preacher, Samuel K. Jennings, and which did excellent work with a faculty of five. One of the professors was an infidel and one a Catholic. How long this college lasted we cannot tell, probably not over three or four years. There seems to be no record of it after 1818.

And now (about 1816) began that won-

derful educational activity—which has lasted to the present time, and which is probably without a parallel in Church history. To give even a sketch of it would take a volume. By a people of whom it could be said, "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble," not many rich, "are called" (1 Corinthians 1: 26), to lay such an offering on the altar of God as is implied in the partial and fragmentary statements which I shall now add is unique in history.

In 1816 the New England Conference determined to start an academy at Newmarket, New Hampshire. It was opened September 1, 1817, removed to Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in 1825, where after more than three-quarters of a century's noble history it still stands with new and greatly enlarged buildings.

In 1798 the citizens of Bracken County, Kentucky, secured from the State a grant of 6,000 acres of land to establish an academy

at Augusta, Kentucky, on the Ohio River. In 1821 the Kentucky and Ohio Conferences united to take advantage of this grant, and opened in 1822, a preparatory school, which received a college charter the same year, under John P. Finley. Here also Durbin, Ruter and other men famous in Methodism taught. Owing to the troubles of 1844 the school was suspended in 1849, but later revived, and is now known as the Augusta Collegiate Institute.

Cazenovia Seminary is the result of a resolution of the old Genesee Conference in 1819 "to open a seminary of learning within its bounds." The removal of the capital of Madison County, New York, from Cazenovia to Morrisville in 1817, threw the court-house on the market. This was bought immediately for both church and school purposes, religious services being held in 1818 and the seminary started in 1824. In the invaluable book on Methodist schools by the late Rev. Anson W. Cum-

mings (New York, 1886) the principal is quoted as saying that "from careful competition it has been found that more than 600 men have here prepared for college, 3,000 have been converted to Christ, 1,000 entered the ministry, 400 the law, 400 medicine, more than 1,000 are successful business men, 1,500 are engaged as teachers in colleges and other schools, and nearly all have pursued or are pursuing honorable and useful callings."

Maine Wesleyan Seminary and Female College was started by the enterprise of a public spirited farmer, Luther Sampson, in founding at Kents Hill, in 1821, the Readfield Religious and Charitable Society, which changed in name to Maine Wesleyan Seminary in 1825.

Owing to the division of the Genesee Conference in 1828 Cazenovia Seminary fell to the Oneida Conference (since further subdivided, so that the Seminary now belongs to Central New York Conference).

In 1829 it was resolved to see what could be done in establishing a school. In 1830, Lima, New York, was selected, in 1831–2, a building erected, and on May 1, 1832, the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary was opened in that beautiful town.

Alden Partridge, who had been a principal of the West Point Military Academy, opened the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1825. Failing to receive the privileges asked for from the State Assembly he removed his institution to Norwich, Vermont, in 1829. That left two four-story stone buildings standing unoccupied—happy removal for Methodism! Laban Clark, presiding elder of the district in which Middletown was situated, brought the matter to the attention of the New York Conference in May, 1829. This Conference conferred with the New England, and in 1830 both determined to locate a college in Middletown. In 1831, it was incorporated

as Wesleyan University and opened September 21, of that year, with Wilbur Fisk —*omen faustum!*—as president.

The oldest building occupied by any Methodist educational institution is probably the West College, erected 1805, the nucleus of the present noble equipment of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This college was chartered in 1783, named after John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania farmer" author of "Letters of Fabius," managed by trustees consisting of Presbyterians (principally), Lutherans and Episcopalians, taken over by the Methodists in 1833 and opened under its new management in 1834.

If the failure of Dickinson College under its first management was largely due to administrative faults, that of Allegheny College, founded at Meadville, Pennsylvania, in 1815–17 by the indomitable exertions of the Rev. Timothy Alden, a Harvard graduate, who left the pastorate of a Congregational Church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to

found schools, was due to the jealousy and opposition of two Presbyterian colleges—Jefferson and Washington—who already occupied the territory of northwestern Pennsylvania. In 1831, the brave and noble Alden had to close his college. Happily he lived long enough (died 1839) to see the college given by the trustees to the Pittsburg Conference, which immediately endowed and reopened it, November 3, 1833.

Since 1833 educational development has gone on a pace. The great Universities at Syracuse, Boston, Evanston, Delaware (Ohio), Bloomington, Nashville, Greencastle (Indiana), Denver, as well as colleges and seminaries scattered here and there all over the land—and this in all the various Methodist bodies—tell of sacrifices and achievements to which volumes could not do justice. The Methodist Church agrees thoroughly with the Catholic in the necessity of a Christian education for youth, but

disagrees as to an unsectarian public school system.

The first distinctively theological school was opened at Newbury, Vermont, in 1841, formally dedicated in 1843, removed to Concord, New Hampshire, in 1847, to Boston in 1867, and became a department of Boston University, "the first completely organized university, with all the faculties, in Universal Methodism," in 1871. Garrett Biblical Institute was founded by the munificence of Mrs Eliza Garrett in 1854, and is now the theological department of the largest Methodist University in the world, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, owes its being to the counsel of the Rev. John Parker, the intimate friend and pastor of Mr. Daniel Drew, a wealthy New York broker, who gave $270,000 for this purpose. It was opened November 6, 1867. In all Drew spent about $500,000. In the spring of 1875 Drew failed, and the endow-

ment for the running expenses was swept away. Before the then president, Prof. John F. Hurst, was elected bishop in 1880, through the exertions of himself and Professor (now president) Buttz and the generous aid of the friends of the seminary, he had the satisfaction of seeing the amount lost more than recovered.

The latest educational project is the American University, a purely post-graduate school, founded in Washington, D. C., in 1890, by Bishop John F. Hurst, intended to cap the educational system by an institution which will lay open the immense scientific treasures of the capital to men previously trained in college. It is greatly handicapped by the almost prohibitory action of the General Conference forbidding it to open its doors until it has a productive endowment beyond buildings and lands of $5,000,000. Action like that would have prevented the opening of every university in Europe or America, for the history of education is

the best commentary on the question of the sacred prophet, Who hath despised the day of small things? (Zech. 4: 10).

CHAPTER XI

"THE WORLD IS MY PARISH"

"I LOOK upon all the world as my parish," were the now famous words of John Wesley which Dean Stanley had engraved on the Wesley tablet in Westminster Abbey. Looking back upon them from this distance they seem strangely prophetic. And although the work of home missions necessarily absorbed the energies of the early Methodists, their work indirectly stimulated the whole modern missionary enterprise and directly produced some notable forms of it. Both the London and the Church Missionary Societies were the result of it, nor were the men who formed the Baptist Missionary Society in the parlor of a little house in Kettering, October 2, 1792, far removed from its influence. John

Wesley was not unmindful of distant lands though he started no specific missions to the heathen. He himself went out to Georgia to convert the Indians, and during his ministry he sent missionaries to America, West Indies and Newfoundland. The first missionary to the heathen ever sent out by Methodists was George Warren, who in 1811 left England for Sierra Leone, though even in this case a previous evangelization had been done by the Methodist pioneers in Nova Scotia. These had converted many negroes who had fled from slavery in the States, and who later went to Africa. These Christian blacks wanted the ministrations of the Gospel. They therefore sent to England for preachers and Warren was the response. English Methodism has not only a flourishing mission in Sierra Leone, with thousands of members, but has missions also on the Gambia, on the Gold Coast, Ashantee, and in other countries in West Africa, Cape Colony and

Natal, among the Kaffirs, Hottentots, Fingoes, Bechuanas, Zulus and other tribes and in the two South African oligarchies whose people have recently been given freedom and constitutional rights by England. In 1812 Samuel Leigh was sent to Australia, where a class of Methodist immigrants had already been formed, and where he laid broad and deep the foundations of a great Church.

Thomas Coke, who took an intense interest in missions (to quote my own words in the Hurst "History of the Christian Church," II, 832–3), and begged from door to door for the missionaries in America, France and the Jersey Islands, in his old age was consumed with longing to found evangelical Christianity in India. On June 18, 1813, he writes (he was then sixty-six), "I am now dead to Europe and alive for India. God himself has said to me, Go to Ceylon. I am so fully convinced of the will of God that methinks I had rather be set naked on

the coast of Ceylon, without clothes and without a friend, than not to go there. . . . The fleets sail in October and January. If the Conference employs me to raise the money for the outset I shall not be able to sail till January. I shall bear my own expenses, of course. I shall probably be here till this day fortnight, then I set off for Liverpool." In the next Conference Coke pleaded as a man for his life to be sent to India. The night before the day fixed for the official debate he spent in prayer for India. In the debate Coke told of the providential circumstances which had led him to this mission, the favor shown it by some men of power, the duty of preaching the Gospel to the millions of the East, and then offered himself and other ministers who had consented "to dare with himself the dangers of the enterprise." He added, "If the Conference could not bear the expense he would himself defray the initial expenditure to the extent of £6,000." The

Conference passed a resolution in which it "authorizes and appoints Dr. Coke to undertake a mission to Ceylon and Java, and allows him to take with him six missionaries, exclusive of one for the cape of Good Hope." Thus began Methodist missions to Asia in which some of the greatest triumphs of the Gospel, as well as of consecrated scholarship, have been realized. Here the brilliant Gogerly carried on his researches, and here Robert Spence Hardy laid the foundation for that accurate and extensive knowledge of Buddhism, by which he permanently enriched the scientific literature of religion.

Methodist missions have also reclaimed from cannibalism and given to commerce and civilization many islands of the South Seas,

> "Where every prospect pleases,
> And only man is vile,"

and the story of missionary enterprise there

is a romance of daring and heroism not surpassed in the annals of discovery or adventure. The "strenuous life" has been interpreted as chiefly the doing physical damage to our brother-men, especially killing them in war; but a finer example is the work of Cargill and Cross in the Fiji islands (1835ff.). To be set down lone and defenseless among savages and man-eaters, to learn their language, to interest them in Christianity, to convert and civilize them,—that is a work requiring far more bravery than a war against a decrepit monarchy or against its distant colony stirred to action by the dawning consciousness of liberty. The latest information from these now Christian islands, which have themselves been sending missionaries to other lands, is the proselyting work of Catholics, who have succeeded in gaining a chief, and have celebrated their success by a bonfire of all the translations of the New Testament made by the Protestant missionaries

which they could obtain. This was in the spring of the year of the Lord 1903.

In America, missionary work has been done on a large scale, according to their resources, by all the Methodist Churches. It is an interesting fact that the organized missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal church goes back to the labors of a converted Indian-negro, John Stewart, who was the trophy of Marcus Lindsay's preaching at Marietta, Ohio, in 1816. "Soon after I embraced religion," Stewart says, "I went out into the fields to pray. It seemed to me I heard a voice, like the voice of a woman, praising God; and then another, as the voice of a man, saying to me, 'You must declare my counsel faithfully.' These voices went through me powerfully. They seem to come from a northwest direction. I soon found myself standing on my feet and speaking, as if addressing a congregation." He could not disobey the

heavenly voice. He took his knapsack and set off towards the northwest, not knowing whither he was going. He came to the Delaware Indians, who were singing and preparing for a dance. He began to sing one of the songs of Zion, and they asked him to "sing more." He preached to them, and moved on towards the Wyandots. Here he found a fugitive slave who had been living among them and who knew their language. Stewart preached, with Pointer (the slave) as interpreter. Many were converted, among them several chiefs and a young Armstrong lad who had been taken prisoner and adopted by the tribe.

News of the successes of Stewart among the Indians created a profound impression when it reached the East. Measures were at once taken to form a missionary society, which was done at the Bowery Church, New York, April 5, 1819. This was nine years after the Congregationalists had

founded their great organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and four years after the Baptists had organized the American Baptist Missionary Union. Much opposition and worse lethargy the new society had to meet, partly on account of the Bible work which it undertook, but which it soon turned over to the American Bible Society, and partly on account of indifference, if not hostility, to foreign missions. But brave men held the fort, and would not give up. Their first report said, "Methodism itself is a missionary system. Yield the missionary spirit, and you yield the very life blood of the cause." "The time may not be come when we shall send the missionaries beyond the seas," but they pointed to the wonderful opportunities in the home land, the incoming French and Spanish, also the yet undeveloped West, and the aborigines. And it was this home mission work to which the church ad-

dressed herself for the first twelve years of the life of the society.

In 1825 the society resolved to ask the bishops to send a missionary to Liberia. No suitable man presented himself, apparently. But in 1831 Bishop Hedding met Melville B. Cox, a young but frail minister of Virginia Conference, who was burning with zeal to do something for Christ in a foreign land. South America was in his thoughts, but Hedding turned his attention to Africa. "If the Lord will, I think I will go," said Cox. Soon Liberia was "swallowing up all his thoughts." In May, 1832, he was appointed for Africa. "I thirst to be on my way. I pray that God may fit my soul and body for the duties before me; that God may go with me there. I have no lingering fear. A grave in Africa shall be sweet to me if he sustain me." He anticipated an early death. "I know I cannot live long in Africa, but I hope to live long enough to get there; and if God

please that my bones shall lie in an African grave, I shall have established such a bond between Africa and the church at home as shall not be broken till Africa be redeemed." During his last visit at Middletown, Connecticut, he said to one of the students of the university,

"If I die in Africa you must come over and write my epitaph."

"I will," said the youth, "but what shall I write?" "Write," said Cox, "Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up."

Cox lived long enough to organize the mission, start churches and schools, and to give vitality to the movement. In four months he was dead of Africa fever, July 21, 1833, aged thirty-four. "There is not in the wide world," he said, "such a field for missionary enterprise." The Liberia mission thus consecrated by the sacrifice of Cox has never been abandoned but has rather been the starting point for further work for Africa. In 1885 Bishop Taylor

opened up the vast Congo country, in 1892 the Congregationalists turned over their work in East Africa, and in 1899 Bishop Hartzell planted flourishing missions in Umitali and along the track of that great empire which under British auspices will yet destroy the Mohammedan slave trade and build up a Christian civilization in the Dark Continent.

The pioneer of the Methodist mission in South America was Fountain E. Pitts, who in 1835 visited Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo and other places. The next year Justin Spaulding and John Dempster were sent, followed by Daniel P. Kidder in 1837. They learned the Portuguese language, preached and translated books and tracts in it, circulated Bibles, and were in a fair way to see permanent results. Catholicism of an ignorant and degraded type was dominant everywhere, and all the arts of civilization were in a backward state. The priests were licentious—rejoicing in large families

of illegitimate children. If for no other reason than as a stimulant to their own church the Catholics should have welcomed the missionaries. In fact many of them did, heard them gladly, bought and read the Testaments and other books which they distributed, and many were converted. In some states the laws, if enforced, made aggressive work impossible, as they forbade Protestants preaching in Portuguese or in the native language, or having services in a building which looked like a church. Kidder found a liberal priest who welcomed him heartily, said that Catholicism was being abandoned for infidelity, that the Bible was the best antidote, and consented to distribute Bibles and tracts in the parish. Unfortunately on account of a financial crisis in the United States and lack of faith on the part of the Missionary Society, Kidder, Spaulding and Dempster were withdrawn in 1841. It is a striking coincidence that two of these South American pioneers—

Kidder and Dempster—became famous in the history of theological education, the latter being almost the founder of theological seminaries by his great work at Concord (1845–54) and at Evanston (1855–63), and was about starting on a mission to found a theological school on the Pacific Coast when he died at Chicago, November 28, 1863. The holy and devoted Kidder lived to enrich theological literature, did conscientious service at Garrett (1856–71) and at Drew (1871–80), was the first to place the Board of Education—founded 1868—on a secure and successful basis (1880–87), and died full of years and honors at Evanston, July 29, 1891.

The mission at Buenos Ayres and Montevideo has had an eventful history. William H. Norris did a noble work at the latter city. William Taylor, the most apostolic man of the nineteenth century, who introduced self-supporting missions on a large scale in South America, India and

Africa, started schools and other appliances of Christian work in many places in South America. These have been the nucleus of larger efforts continued and enlarged under the missionary society. In 1893 the stations were formed into the South American Conference, from which those in the west were separated in 1897 under the name of the Western South American Mission Conference. The former has societies in about thirty-five towns, besides six in Buenos Ayres, four in Rosario, and two in Montevideo; the latter has ten stations in Chili, and an English and Spanish work in Callao and Lima. The Rev. Thomas B. Wood, who knows as much about South America as any living man, speaks thus of the progress of liberty, "The last revolution in Bolivia enthroned a party that is giving proofs of willingness to enlarge religious liberty. In Peru a new party has been organized with influential and promising elements, declaring for full religious liberty.

In Ecuador the new régime inaugurated some years ago is firmer than ever after crushing out armed revolutions organized by priestcraft at the rate of one a year ever since it came into power, introducing new reforms every year despite the revolutions, and setting forward prosperity in the country, notwithstanding the waste of blood and treasure by civil wars." The government of Ecuador has called upon the Methodist missionaries to furnish teachers for the new national schools, as they wish to improve the educational system. Catholicism is still, however, the official religion of Ecuador which wishes simply to emancipate itself from the rule of priests, who have bitterly opposed these progressive movements.

One of the oldest missions is that to China begun by Judson Dwight Collins and Moses C. White, who arrived September 4, 1847. Its development, considering the almost superhuman obstacles of the language

and the conservatism of the country, seems miraculous. There are now two regular Conferences—the Foochow (organized 1877) and the North China (1893), one mission Conference—the Hinghua (1896) and two missions—the Central China (1869) and the West China (1881). The great Boxer persecution and insurrection of 1900, occasioned largely by the territorial aggression of European nations, and which turned in blind rage against the Christians, destroyed all Methodist churches and other property in North China, except Tienstin, massacred many native Christians, and broke up the work entirely in the Chihli and Shantung provinces, though all foreign missionaries mercifully escaped. The fine University in Peking is in ashes. The fidelity of the native Christians in China is one of the brightest pages of history. They even exceeded the heroism and devotion of the early Christians. There are no lapsed, no libellatics, in China to test the disciplinary

wisdom of the Church. Missionary F. D. Gamewell had charge of the defenses of Peking, and he managed the matter so masterly as to win hearty recognition and thanks from foreign ambassadors. But the work is going on as before; old missionaries have gone back and new ones have been sent out. Various Methodist denominations have missions in China; in the coming break-up of the empire presaged by the determination of Russia to permanently occupy Manchuria, announced in April, 1903, these churches will do an invaluable work for civilization.

> The old order changeth, giving place to the new,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

The history of Methodist missions in India is also one of the romances and miracles of modern times. James Lynch was one of the men who buried Coke's body in the Indian Ocean, and who carried on his work in India. After thirty years' labor

there he returned to his native Ireland and took work in the Comber circuit. Needing an assistant, William Butler became his associate. "Fifteen years after this, Lynch still living, Butler was on his way to India as the representative of the Methodism of the United States thus linking the two lands, the two Methodisms, and the two missions of the British and American Methodist Churches." In 1856 William Butler began work in Rohilcund and Oudh, in the Northwest Province. His experience in the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, as told in his interesting book, "The Land of the Vedas," New York (1875), and quoted in part in Reid's "History of Missions of the Methodist Episcopacy Church," II, 361ff. (Gracey's edition), is one of the most thrilling stories ever told. This mutiny interrupted work only for a time. Reinforcements were sent, and among the most potent agents for the regeneration of India have been the remarkably successful labors of American missionaries. This mis-

sion was organized into the North India Conference in 1864, and to-day it has more members than some of the great Conferences in the home-land. The Northwest India Mission became a Conference in 1893. There is also the South India Conference, the Bombay Conference (1892), the Bengal–Borneo Conference (1893), and the Malaysia Mission Conference (work began 1885, Conference 1893). In 1900 the Philippine Islands were made a district of that Conference, and a prosperous work has been begun there. Wonderful outpourings of the spirit have been witnessed in North India since 1895, the natives pressing for baptism in numbers too large for effective instruction and oversight. It is only paralleled by the pentecostal ingatherings of the Baptists among the Telugus after their years of faithful waiting and sowing. James M. Thoburn was made missionary bishop of India and Malaysia in 1888, and his apostolic spirit and labors keep fresh the loved

memory of William Taylor. Both have consecrated that teeming land to the highest type of Christianity.

A volume could well be given to the history of missions in European lands, from the little Methodist society in St. Petersburg to the magnificent publishing house, college and church under the very shadow of the Vatican. Japan has a most interesting and promising work, begun in 1872, and in Mexico in 1873. William Butler—not content with founding American Methodism in India—introduced it into Mexico. Korea, too, has some brilliant young men laying the foundations of Christian civilization. Bulgaria has proved stony ground. In fact the history of Methodist missions has abundantly proved the wisdom of Wesley's advice—as sage as it was Christian, but often disregarded by his followers: Go not so much to those who need you, but to those who need you most.

The home mission work in the United

States and its dependencies, among the Italians, Scandinavians, Hungarians, Spanish, and other foreigners, is a most interesting one; but not more so than the romantic history of William Nast, the fellow-student and friend of the infidel Strauss, and his founding Methodism among the Germans in America in 1835, and the wonderful development that has followed until there are to-day ten German Conferences in the United States. In spite of the persecutions of the Methodists in Protestant Germany, the people of Luther are not unappreciative of the best things in Methodism, as witness the remark of Christlieb, "the best method against Methodism is to do the same as it is doing," and the keenly appreciative article in the twelfth volume of the third edition of the Hauck-Herzog "Realencyclopædie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (1903) on which I have based an article in *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, Nashville,

October, 1903. In speaking of this article by Loofs in the "Realencyclopædia" to the editor, Professor Hauck, of Leipzig, I asked him if its favorable tone had called out any dissent in Germany. He said: "Not that I have noticed. In fact we in Germany are much nearer to Methodism in feeling and sentiment than to the Anglican Church. The High Church movement is in part, of course, the cause of this."

STATISTICS

ACCORDING to the latest statistics as given in the admirable *Methodist Year Book*, (New York, 1903), edited by Mr. Stephen V. R. Ford, the Wesleyan Methodist Church has in Great Britain and Ireland 2,491 ministers, 20,850 lay preachers, and 525,360 members (including probationers) and in foreign lands she has of each, 727; 7,942; 205,646. The figures of the Methodist New Connection are 207; 1,171; 42,929; the Independent Methodist Churches, 397; figures for lay preachers omitted; 8,644; Wesleyan Reform Union, 18; 479; 7,849; Bible Christians, 212; 1,483; 28,877; Primitive Methodists, 1,048; 16,016; 195,651; United Methodist Free Churches, 444; 3,302; 93,684; Australasia Methodist Church, 932; 8,452; 131,774.

For Canada the figures stand thus: for the four Conferences in Ontario and the one in Quebec, 1,351 ministers and lay preachers and 218,848 members; for the maritime provinces, 321 and 41,710; Manitoba, Northwest and British Columbia, 326 and 28,508. In Japan the Canadian Church has 32 and 2,675.

In the United States Dr. H. K. Carroll gives the latest figures in *The Christian Advocate*, January 8, 1903. Methodist Episcopal, 16,805 ministers, 2,801,798 communicants; African Methodist Episcopal, 6,429 and 728,354; African Methodist Episcopal Zion, 3,310 and 542,422; Methodist Protestant, 1,647 and 184,097; Wesleyan Methodist, 700 and 17,000; Methodist Episcopal, South, 6,247 and 1,518,854; Congregational Methodist, 400 and 22,000; Colored Methodist Episcopal, 2,061 and 204,972; Free Methodist, 1,001 and 28,038; Union American Methodist Episcopal, 180 and 16,500; smaller bodies, 440 and 20,720.

The statistical results of foreign missions for the Methodist Episcopal Church are as follows: Africa, 678 probationers and 2,928 full members; China, 10,654 and 9,299; India, 51,290 and 34,108; Malaysia, 1,725 and 1,768; Japan, 2,194 and 4,367; Korea, 4,559 and 1,296; Germany, 4,990 and 15,-062; Switzerland, 1,058 and 7,655; Norway and Sweden, 1,947 and 21,024; Denmark, 217 and 3,248; Finland and St. Petersburg, 253 and 759; Italy, 534 and 1,923; Bulgaria, 76 and 238; Mexico, 2,516 and 2,819; South America, 2,037 and 3,107.

LITERATURE

For the rise and progress of Methodism in England until 1833 the great book is Stevens' *History of the Religious Movement in the 18th Century, called Methodism*, N. Y. and London, 3 vols., 1858–61, perhaps the best denominational history ever written.

George Smith's *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, Lond., 3 vols., 1857–62, is a thorough and valuable book, devotes the first volume to Wesley, but is partisan in its account of the Warren and other separations.

The late Bishop Hurst published the work of many hands in his elaborate and richly illustrated *History of Methodism*, Lond., 4 vols., 1903 (British Methodism), the later volumes not being yet published.

There are shorter and popular histories by Bennett, Cincinnati, 1878; Daniels, N.

Y., 1882; McTyeire, Nashville, 1884; and Hyde, N. Y., 1887.

As to Wesley himself the standard biography is Tyerman, Lond., and N. Y., 3 vols., 1870–1,—a work of immense research. Southey's fine biography has been superseded by recent investigations, which have reversed some of its estimates, but in the edition with Coleridge's notes and Alexander Knox's remarks and additional notes by D. Curry, N. Y., 2 vols., 1852, it is still of value. The lives by Julia Wedgwood, Lond., 1870; Telford, new ed., 1899; Rigg, new ed., 1890; Lelièvre, new ed., 1900; "by a Methodist Preacher," 1903; and Pike, 1903 (Unwin), are all excellent, each one of some special value.

The earliest History of the Methodists in America is that by Lee, *Short History of the Methodists*, Baltimore, 1810, who preserved many invaluable details.

Lednum, *Rise of Methodism in America*, Philadelphia, 1859, is indispensable. Of him, Stevens gives this testimony: "Lednum is

remarkable for his accuracy; when I have not been able to confirm him I have not been able to refute him " (ii, 91, note).

Then come the two standard works—*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (to 1840) by Bangs, N. Y., 4 vols., 1839–41, and (to 1816) by Stevens, N. Y., 4 vols., 1864–67,—the former a solid and conscientious work, in a sense an official history, the latter a work of remarkable literary attractiveness and religious insight, founded on extensive research.

Many facts have been unearthed in the three valuable books, Wakeley, *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism*, N. Y., 1858, new ed., 1889; Phœbus, *Light on Early Methodism in America*, N. Y., 1887 (founded on the diary, letters, and other MSS. of Ezekiel Cooper); and Seaman, *Annals of New York Methodism*, N. Y., 1892.

The latest, most comprehensive and thorough book on the early history is Atkinson,

The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America, N. Y., 1896, which goes down to the departure of Boardman and Filmoor for England.

By far the best one volume *History of the Methodists in the United States*, covering the whole ground is Buckley's, N. Y., 1896, in the American Church History Series. In fact it is about the only book which gives the history from the beginning to the present, in a way at once thorough, impartial, and interesting.

The Minutes of the Conferences (1773 to the present) first published in complete and continuous form from MS. or printed sources (Methodist Book Concern, 1840ff.), are an invaluable source. Stevens has shown that the early numbers are not always accurate as to dates and names.

Journals of the General Conference from 1792 to the present also exist either in abstract or in full.

The two books by John J. Tigert, *A Con-*

stitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism, Nashville, 1894, and *The Making of Methodism, ib.*, 1898, are fresh and careful studies by an authoritative expounder. The same author's reprint, with a valuable introduction, of the doctrinal tracts in the old Disciplines, *The Doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America as contained in the Disciplines, 1788 to 1808, and so designated in their title pages*, Cincinnati and New York, 2 vols., 1902, is invaluable.

For the history of the Methodist Protestant and other reform movements see Bassett, *History of the Methodist Protestant Church*, Pittsburg, 1878, new ed., rev. and enl., 1887; and especially the exhaustive *History of Methodist Reform, with special reference to the Methodist Protestant Church*, Baltimore, 2 vols., 1899, by Dr. E. J. Drinkhouse. It is written after a careful study of all the original documents, and is the only com-

plete and thorough presentation of the Reformer's case ever presented. Though written therefore; with a bias, it is a great and enduring achievement in American Church historiography.

There is no history of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America (1843). The best brief account is Wardner and Bruce's article in McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopædia*, suppl. vol., ii, 1075–6.

For the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, see Redford, *Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, Nashville, 1871; Myers, *The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, ib.*, 1875; and Gross Alexander, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, in American Church History Series, vol., N. Y., 1894. The elaborate work of Elliott, *The Great Secession*, Cincinnati, 1855, gives seventy-eight documents in the appendix.

For the Slavery struggle see the books just mentioned, also Elliott, *Sinfulness of*

American Slavery, Cincinnati, 2 vols., 1863; Matlock, *Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, New York, 1881.

For territorial growth, besides the minutes of the Annual Conferences, Journals of the General Conference, Reports of the Missionary Society, biographies of noted workers in home and foreign lands, William Taylor's books, Histories of Missions such as Reid's rev. new ed. 3 vols., 1895–6, Histories of Conferences, see Histories of Methodism in Minnesota by Hobart, Red-Wing, 1887; in Ohio by Barker, New York, 1898; in Wisconsin by Bennett and Lawson, Cincinnati, 1890; in the southwest by Elliott, Cincinnati, 1868; in Indiana by W. C. Smith (*Indiana Miscellany*), Cincinnati, 1867, and by J. C. Smith (*Reminiscences of Early Methodism in Indiana*), Indianapolis, 1879; in Kentucky by Redford, Nashville, 3 vols., 1868–70; in Illinois (Rock River Conference) by Field, Cincinnati, 1896; in

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1881, 1904; Ryerson, *Story of My Life, ib.*, 1884; various authors, *Centennial of Canadian Methodism, ib.*, 1891. There are lives of William Black by Richey, Halifax, 1839, and by his descendant Wm. A. Black, of Sheldon, Iowa, 1903.

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